WORKS IN PROGRESS

VOLUME 7, NO. 10 | THURSTON COUNTY RAINBOW COALITION | FEBRUARY 1997

"Law and Justice are not always the same. When they aren't, destroying the law may be the first step towards changing it." Gloria Steinem

Abuse By TESC Police Services

Yuri Koslen

Grievance

I am a third year student at The Evergreen State College. I work in Student Activities as a paid co-coordinator at the Environmental Resource Center, am a volunteer coordinator at the Peace Center, and was appointed as the alternate student representative to the Board of Trustees. I make this grievance due to the use of unnecessary and excessive force by the TESC police services against me.

History and Claim

On Wednesday the 11th of December, I woke up knowing that at 5:30 that afternoon my final project of the quarter was due for my Natural History & Ethnobotany class with professors Bill Hashim and Marya Elohimo. I still had to gather some of the materials needed for the completion of my project and put it all together into a poster presentation. My poster board was in an office off 4th St. in downtown Olympia. With this plan in mind, I went to the forest south of the Evergreen State College Organic farm to gather materials, then stopped by the TESC library to take one last look at the periodicals.

When entering the parking lot behind the library there is a sign which reads, "NOTICE: No Parking in this area, unloading/loading only, 30 min maximum". As I expected to be in the parking lot for less than 30 minutes, I didn't believe myself in violation of this posting. In the lot there are the following signs: "disabled parking permit required", "vans only", "TESC Mait. vehicles only", "reserved", "NO PARKING ANYTIME", and "Commercial vehicle: pick up and delivery parking only -30min. maximum." There was a minivan parked in front of the pay phone and a blue EMERGENCY ALARM in a place without a sign. Not parking in any of these spots, I continued to look for a parking place. The spot I found had no sign and no yellow markings (as is seen in the "no parking" zones). I parked and ran up to the library to make one last attempt to gather information. All of my activities were in the normal course of my academic studies at the Evergreen State College.

When I came back within 30 minutes, I noticed a parking ticket on my front windshield. At the same time, a small white parking truck and a TESC Police vehicle pulled up and blocked my car in. Officer Steve Huntsberry and parking regulation officer Curtis McHenry were in the police vehicles. I greeted the officers by saying, "What's up?" McHenry replied with, "we finally caught up with you." His tone was condescending and, as I didn't know that I was somehow a fugitive, I could not understand the climate of his remark. (Background: myself and a friend have accumulated six parking tickets between 01/16/96 and 06/11/96. I received my only parking ticket this year on 12/09/96. No warnings were received throughout this period other than upon the original tickets.)

Officer Larry Savage joined Hunstberry and McHenry. I was then informed that I could either go to the parking office and pay $70 dollars at that moment or have my car "booted" and pay later. I did not have the money on me and I do not possess a money card or checks. I had a $400 dollar money order that I had just gotten and I assumed that I could not cash it at the parking office. (When attempting to use my $400 dollar money order to pay the fines, the parking office would not

(Continued page 19)

I make this grievance due to the use of unnecessary and excessive force by the TESC police services against me.

The Olympia Forum on the Future of Policing

The City of Olympia presents the Olympia forum on the Future of Policing, a public education, information, and discussion event designed to launch a year-long public process to determine the future of policing in Olympia.

Friday, February 7th
4pm - 10pm

Saturday, February 8th
8:30am - 4pm

In the Longhouse Cultural Center on The Evergreen State College campus.

Call Cathie Pipkins, Community and Media Relations Coordinator for the City of Olympia, at 753-8447 for more information.

Deals with the Devil

Police Must Support Working Class Struggles

Rich Ase

Recently the Thurston-Lewis County Labor Council chose to admit the Olympia Police Guild into the council in light of Mayor Jacob's recent attacks. This move by the Labor Council is both a very progressive, grassroots determined action to admit non-AFL-CI0 affiliated labor groups into a large worker's association, and quite possibly a pact with the devil. My father, a retired police officer and town councilman in New Hampshire and Arizona, often repeated the old saying, "Politics make strange bedfellows". This is surely the case.

The TLCLC, headed by Helen Lee, seems fully aware of this predicament, and has certainly vocalized their concerns about police conflicts of interest. A not too unrealistic scenario could put the police in direct opposition to those they wish to join. Police, doing their job, could easily be called in to protect property and arrest fellow working people who may be on strike. It is easy to see the police on the opposite side of those who battle for fairness in the workplace; the same battle the police have with the city council.

It has been argued that as long as workers don't do anything illegal there shouldn't be a problem, but labor rights, unionism and civil rights have always had a history of being illegal. Countless "illegal" activities take place every day to prevent deforestation, unfair work practices and unethical government policies. Without such activities, there wouldn't be the now fictional 8 hour workday, women wouldn't be able to vote, African Americans wouldn't be allowed to read. It would be grossly naive to think the police, (though working class themselves), would become the champions of the working class, let alone their allies. Their job is to enforce the laws of business owners and capitalists. It would be great to see the OPD put their money where their mouth is and recognize their worker identity and deny the privilege of power afforded them by our common foe. I for one won't hold my breath as long as the homeless and teens are harassed. I will be continuously suspicious so long as the police continue to try and break strikes like the ongoing I.W.W. and Teamster strike of a Seattle mini-mart. I would be ecstatically surprised if the workers of Olympia could count on their brothers and sisters of the police department to be allies in the constant struggle for labor and the working class. If the police want support for their labor issues, they must in turn recognize our commonality and support the working class in its struggles. ◆

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LETTERS & ANNOUNCEMENTS

TESC TV

Are you tired of corporate dominated mainstream media? Do you feel like your voice is not getting heard? Are you down with Noam Chomsky? A group of highly motivated and frustrated Evergreen students have decided to take matters into our own hands, but we need your help. We are opening up the Evergreen television station so it can be used as an outlet of personal expression for students and community members alike. We are desperately searching for artists, musicians, performers, freaks, political commentary, imported videos, or pretty much anything (we aren't selective). Besides being aired on TESC TV, special programming will be funneled to our own spot on community television (channel 3). Now is your chance to be a star. Take advantage of the rare opportunity to showcase your work or opinions to the public. TESC TV has just been activated- the oppressors are trembling.

To contact TESC TV you can call Michael or DJ at 357-7812.

Fall 1996 Grant Recipients Community Sustaining Fund

The Community Sustaining Fund of Thurston County is pleased to announce the following groups and individuals were recipients in our 1996 Fall Grant Cycle:

Sustainable Community Roundtable: $100, for publicity cost for a series of monthly community forums.

Rochester Organization of Families/ TOGETHER!: $350, For organizing a series of "Family Nights" for local Hispanic families.

Susan Grant (Mission of Hope): $350, to the pay printing cost for a guide to Northwest resources for homeless men.

Bread and Roses Drop-In Center: $100, to pay for bus passes for homeless people to get to job interviews.

CROW Mural Project: $200, towards purchasing materials and supplies for a community art project (to be located at the Farmer's Market)

The Olympia Bike Library: $300, towards the cost of buying a cycle cart to perform on-site bike repairs.

Robin Adalina Landsong: $200, towards the production cost a not-for-profit of CD featuring songs about multiple personalities.

With the completion of the Fall 1996 Grant Cycle, the Community Sustaining Fund has returned $34,022 to our community in the form of awards to local activist since the organization's founding in 1987. Twice a year the Community Sustaining Fund awards money to local groups and individuals engaged in social justice, environmental protection and community building projects.

The Community Sustaining Fund tends to award funds for startup cost of projects that might otherwise go unfunded, but with the expectation that these projects will become self sustaining. Grant funds are derived from contributing individuals and businesses, such as the Co-op and Co-op shoppers who round up on their purchases. Thanks to everyone for continuing to "roundup" for social change.

1997 Calendar Celebrating Diversity

The 1997 Celebrating Diversity Calendar is available while supplies last from the Thurston Council on Cultural Diversity and Human Rights. This is the Council's sixth annual calendar and 27 different cultures and ten different religions are represented in the calendar.

To obtain a complimentary copy of the calendar, you may either visit the office of Thurston County Employee and Administrative Services in Room 202, Building Four of the Thurston County Courthouse or contact Ruth Elder, Clerk to the Council at (360) 786-5498 or TDD (360) 754-2933.

LET'S STOP THE SENSELESS KILLING OF OUR CHILDREN

For years I have sat in my home and watched the news and said how awful it is that these kids are killing each other, whether by accident or murder. Never had I thought about doing something; it is such a "big "problem", what could I do, I am only one person. Well that all ended on September 16,1996 when Whitney Graves was shot, and she died. Whitney was more than just someone on the news... she is my husband's niece. Though I can't imagine how her parents or grandparents feel, I do know as extended family we feel the pain and sadness of her senseless and tragic death. Because of a uneducated and careless gun owner, a loving, beautiful spirit will never touch our lives again.

This has made it personal and it's time to get active and let our community and our state know it is well past time to stop the senseless deaths of our children.

Petitions are being circulated throughout our state. The Graves family with the help of Jenny Weiland, Director of MAVIA (MOTHERS AGAINST VIOLENCE IN AMERICA) are collecting signatures to take to Olympia in January when the legislators reconvene. Anyone and everyone can sign this, no matter how young or old, registered voter or not, school children or grandparents.... every signature counts. This petition is not for gun control, it is for gun safety.

If you would like a petition to gather signatures or if you would just like to sign it, you can contact Paul & Sherry Graves at 334-4577 or Fred & Alicia Rasmussen at 653-8362. TAKE A STAND! LET'S SHOW OUR CHILDREN WE CARE!

The Art of Healing

Raven Kaliana and I, Robin Adalina Landsong, are the co-curators for the Art of Healing show. This exhibit of visual art is scheduled for March 10 through May 19 at the Washington Center. The jurors are Susan Aurand and Loise Williams. It is sponsored by Arts Olympia.

The idea of this show is to celebrated visual artists who have the courage to share their own or another's healing or dying process. We are inviting the art of healing that transforms oppression, illness and trauma in to powerful works. Here is a list to spark ideas of the human stories we want to see: images from people living in a racist society, people living with AIDS, Survivors of sexual assault, people living with breast cancer, Survivors of hate crimes, you, Survivors of Ritual Abuse, people with Chronic Fatigue Syndrome, people struggling for economic equality, people working to restore the earth, people honoring Native Rights. Please add to our list. Believe it or not I actually had someone criticize the project for having too narrow of a focus, and that we may not get many submissions. I was too dumfounded to inform this person that the AIDS quilt is now too large to be exhibited in one place.

Through this show we want to draw these works together to witness the common ground and differences in human hurt and healing. Our hope is to share with the community a view of the range of human experience and the resilience of the spirit.

The benefit of having the show at

WIP Schedule

Submission Deadline:

Friday, Feb. 21

6pm at Liberation Cafe

Proofreading Meeting

Tuesday, Feb. 25 at 7 pm
Oly Timberland Library

Call 705-2726 for info.

Advertising Info

⇨ Tara Perkins at 786-8147

⇨ Dave Campbell at 352-6132

Inch Rate $7.50
Business Card . . $20
Special Non-Profit Rates

WORKS IN PROGRESS: PO Box 295 Olympia, WA 98507 (360) 705-2726

Providing a Voice!

(Those who can afford Free Press must ensure it for those who cannot!)

❑ Subscription . . . $25 ❑ Donation_____

❑ Please mail *WIP* to me

❑ Catalog Listing...$1, back issues $1 each

Name _____

Address_____

City _____ State _____ Zip _____

Send to: *Works In Progress*, PO Box 295, Olympia, WA 98507

WORKS IN PROGRESS

Mission Statement: "Our aim is to confront injustice and encourage a participatory democracy based on economic, social, and environmental justice. Works In Progress is dedicated to providing a voice for those most affected by the exclusionary and unfair practices that seek to silence the oppressed."

Anti-Discrimination Clause: We will collectively endeavor to be sensitive and respectful to all those oppressed in this society, and their issues. However, if and when we should make a mistake in this regard, we expect to acknowledge it and to express regret for injury or insult given.

The following statement will become part of the Editorial Policy and will be the governing tool for the Anti-Discrimination Clause: *WIP will make every effort to work with the contributor of material considered by WIP to be offensive in order to reach a mutually agreed upon resolution, but WIP reserves the right as a last resort to edit or not print submitted material.*

WORKERS IN PROGRESS

Dave Campbell
Tom Freeman
Frank Hoffman
Patty Imani
Teresa Jennings
Jerome Johnson
Evelyn Montague
Wendy Ortiz
Hali Panneton
Tara Perkins
CJ Russo
Marie Smith
Sylvia Smith
Pat Tassoni
Dave Zink

Works In Progress is a community newspaper sponsored by the Thurston County Rainbow Coalition. Opinions expressed do not necessarily reflect those of the Rainbow Coalition or the Workers In Progress and are solely those of the authors.

Correspondence/articles are always welcome. Articles on disk (text preferred). WIP reserves the right to publish in whole or part all submissions. For editing purposes, please enclose your phone number. Send submissions to Works In Progress, PO Box 295, Olympia, WA 98507.

the Washington Center is the large space that will accommodate some 50 pieces. The draw back is that the Washington Center is not easily accessible to everyone. The Center (that you tax dollars and private funders support - it is the community's facility) is open during shows, and most Wednesdays 12-2pm. Not very convenient for those of us who work in the day. You can also see the show opening night March 15th. Art Walk night, April 18th the Art of Healing Show will be open. So after you participate in the Procession of the Species come see some more amazing art work at the Washington Center.

The next night, April 19th Playback Theater at Four Season's Bookstore will be dedicating the theme to people's responses to the art show. It will be your stories of your experiences with the Art of Healing.

We will also be doing a Community Discussion facilitated by Lisa Smith to take place at Four Season's Bookstore. We will let you know when we get a date for this. The discussion is to continue the conversation started when the artist works with a medium to create art. The second conversation begins when a viewer sees the art. We want the viewers to talk with the artists, viewers talk with each other, and artists to meet. The discussion will be to facilitate learning from each other and the art about the issues raised.

Also in the works is a hands on workshop for people who don't consider themselves artists to get in there and find the value of doing healing art.

Keep an eye out for posters and more information. For interested artists to receive a prospectus send a self addressed stamped envelope to Art of Healing, PO box 7208, Olympia WA 98507 . We are definitely looking for feedback, networking, involvement, and backing from groups and individuals. Some may consider this a controversial show, and we could use vocal support from those who want these honest images and discussion.

In Memory of a Friend . . .

Ann, 24
female
lonely
depressed
wine bottles
empty on the shelf
No one will ever know
Why or what if
to call and talk
in the middle of the
night instead
of hatching your
plan for death.

Sonya Bedillion

Top Ten List for Why Rich People Should Move Downtown

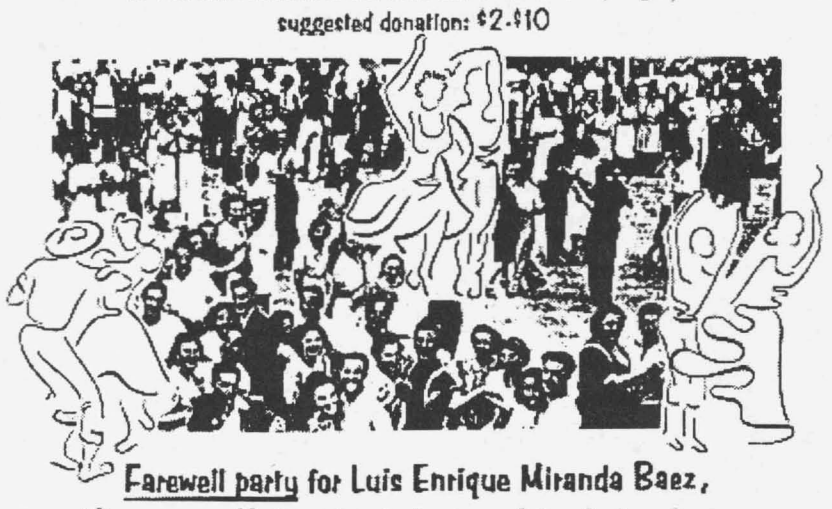
10. **Somebody needs to use the community Center; no one else can afford to use it and anyone else would make Director Jane nervous.**
9. **Less parking problems at the Washington Center for Performing Arts.**
8. **They're an unprotected minority.**
7. **Give homeless people some thing to gawk at.**
6. **To start an Olympia Pink Mercedes Lending Library**
5. **Dedicated private security force already in place -- the Olympia Police Department.**
4. **To be closer to their favorite jewelers.**
3. **So the rest of us can actually meet one.**
2. **They run the town, they might as well live here.**
1. **So Mayor Bob Jacobs can have some friends in the neighborhood.**

Salsa and Merengue Dance! and Potluck

Saturday, February 8th

Potluck dinner at 7 pm
8 pm DANCE with salsa and merengue lessons
Local DJ Félix Torres will spin the CDs
bring all ages friends and family to a great party!
at 7th and Franklin at the First Christian Church, Olympia
suggested donation: $2-$10

the THURSTON SANTO TOMÁS sister county association



Farewell party for Luis Enrique Miranda Baez, Nicaraguan University student, and fundraiser for our sister county of Santo Tomás, Nicaragua.

Friday Night at Liberation Cafe

2-7 Potluck at 6pm
Jane and Abortion Services
Film presentation and discussion at 7pm
2-14 Free love: Reclaiming a Hetrosexist Holiday
Panel discussion and possible collective direct action at 7pm. Sponsored by Q-FIRE.
2-21 Discussion on who will represent the activist community in the 1997 race for Olympia city council at 7pm.
2-28 Chiapas/Pastors For Peace presentation at 7pm.

Nightly Schedule at Liberation Cafe

Mon Spanish class at 7:00 pm
Tues English class at 7:00 pm.
Womyns political group (for now we're meeting @ the dancing goat) at 7:00 pm.
Wed Liberation Cafe meeting at 7:00pm
Thurs Books to Prisoners at 3:00 pm.
Poetry group at 5:30pm
English class at 7:00pm
Fri Friday night event at 7:00pm
Sun Liberation Movement Spiritual expression sessions at 1:30pm

Office Hours 3pm-7pm Wed., Thurs., Sat.
116 4th Ave - downtown Oly (Top Floor of Bulldog News)
Liberation Cafe has a Books For Prisoners drop box
Need info? Got ideas?
Call Liberation Cafe 352-7336

Liberation Cafe is Hiring

The Liberation Cafe (also known as the Olympia Political Cultural Center) is seeking applicants for a part-time staff position for an initial three months. The Liberation Cafe is helping to build a culture of resistance in Olympia. We have been in existence over a year and are looking for an organized activist familiar with our work and who shares our philosophy, to help coordinate our efforts and move us forward. We want a person who takes initiative and is responsible.

The duties include involving new members in our work, helping organize events, and some staffing of the Cafe, helping people with computers and expanding our beginning library. The staff would work approximately 20 hours a week and receive a stipend of about $7 an hour.

To apply for the position write us an essay of 2 or 3 pages that responds to these three issues/questions:

1. What strengths and weaknesses would you bring to this position? (Include in your answer your experience, skills, background and ideology. You may want to discuss particularly your fundraising and organizing experience.)

2. What is your vision for the Liberation Cafe in four months and where do you see it being in a year? How do you see yourself as a staff person working toward realizing that vision?

3. Describe your experience and perspectives working with racial and other forms of diversity.

Indicate if you are willing to share the position (10 Hours/week).

Please either bring the application/essay by February 19, 1997 to the Cafe and put in the box marked "applications" or mail it to:

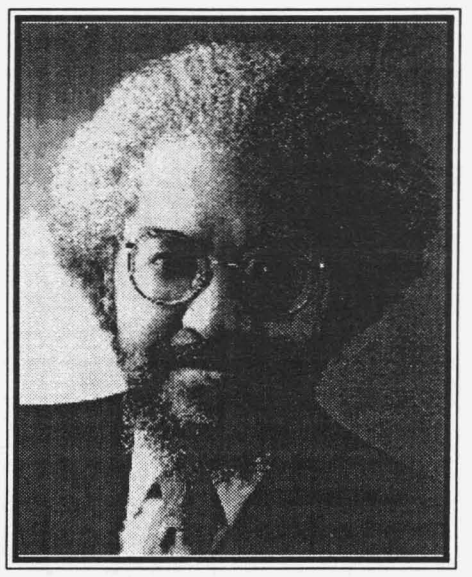
Liberation Cafe 1513 Prospect Ave., NE, Olympia, WA 98506

If you have any questions about the position or hiring process, call Frank at 753-4390.

"HMM... THEY'RE STILL NOT MOVING. TRY THIS ONE."

Along the Color Line

Twenty Years of Black Journalism



Dr. Manning Marable

1997 marks the twentieth anniversary of "Along the Color Line" as a regular feature in the pages of many African-American newspapers. Today, the series appears in over 300 publications worldwide. Many young African-Americans have inquired how the column started, and what steps are necessary to have one's words reach a large public audience.

My own experiences as a black journalist began in the summer of 1976, when I accepted a teaching position as Chair of the Political Science Department at Tuskegee Institute, Alabama. I was no stranger to this black community. Many summers as a boy, I traveled with my father to visit his large family in this small Southern town.

The local newspaper, the Tuskegee News still reflected the racial divisions which were deeply rooted in Macon County's history. Most of the articles still focused on the small and rapidly disappearing white business and planter elite, which had prospered under Jim Crow but was now losing its power and privileges. The newspaper's editor, a conservative white Democrat, wanted to broaden the general appeal of the publication to reach the growing black middle- and working-class community.

Within weeks after arriving in Tuskegee before the beginning of the fall semester, I visited the office of the *Tuskegee News*. I introduced myself, and offered to write an occasional article on politics and public policy issues for the newspaper. I did not request any payment for the articles which were selected for publication. My primary goal was to speak to important political and social issues affecting black Americans, both locally and nationally. I hoped that the series would provoke discussion and debate, contributing in some small way to the Black Freedom Movement. The white editor of *Tuskegee News* did not share any of these political perspectives or interests, but he did want to sell more newspapers to local black residents. In August 1976, my first article was published. Within the next year, the column was printed regularly in one dozen publications.

In the two decades since that time, the "Along the Color Line" columns have almost always focused on and about what is happening politically to black people at that moment. When major events occur, there is an urgent need to analyze what's happened, and to explain issues within a broader social context. Historians have the luxury of pondering over archival materials, carefully weighing the evidence, reflecting critically on the motivations and interests of all personalities and parties in conflict.

The weakness of the historical method is the tendency to make ourselves neutral observers, rather than actors in the making of history. Scholarship must inform and educate, but for oppressed people, it must do more than this. Social analysis should empower people to acquire a better understanding of their world and how it actually works: who benefits from the existing structure of power, and who doesn't. A critique of social reality is always strengthened by the perspective of history, because patterns from the past can powerfully influence what happens in the future. But the primary purpose of social analysis should not be merely to interpret reality, but to transform it.

But movements of any oppressed people cannot advance unless there is a healthy degree of internal criticism and discussion.

Frequently, there have been leaders within the black community who have utilized the myth of the monolithic black community to stifle internal voices of dissent: "If we're all black, and if we all experience racism in common, there must be a unified response and leadership to address our problems." But movements of any oppressed people cannot advance unless there is a healthy degree of internal criticism and discussion. My columns often criticize the contradictions among black leaders, but never attack an individual's character or personal motives. For example, one can certainly criticize Jesse Jackson for all sorts of reasons, but he merits our respect for his important contributions to our movement. I disagree vigorously with many of the political perspectives of both Colin Powell and Louis Farrakhan, but our differences should not keep us from engaging in a serious dialogue with those who share their views within the black community. We should never have to apologize to anyone for dialoguing with other black people, regardless of any external criticisms or controversies.

I have never believed that scholarship takes place outside the boundaries of society. We live and work in a real world, where triumphs and tragedies occur daily across the divisions of race, class, and gender. We are witness to the struggles all around us. "Along the Color Line" has been a means to interpret contemporary events as a passionate advocate for the interest of my people in partnership with the African-American press. Although the columns provide information which can be used by a widely diverse readership, my primary audience has always been, and will always be African Americans.

Dr. Manning Marable is Professor of History and the Director of the Institute for Research in African-American Studies, Columbia University, New York City. "Along the Color Line" appears in over 300 publications throughout the U.S. and internationally. ◆

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From The Inside Out

Imprisoning American Jobs

Dan Pens

In last month's column I gave a brief history of the exploitation of prisoner labor by private enterprises in the 19th century. Essentially, states utilized their prisoners' labor to extract a profit, hoping to offset the costs of incarceration. Prisoners, indeed entire prison systems, were "leased" out to private enterprises whose profit-oriented mindset was at odds with providing proper food, clothing, medical care or housing for their prisoner slaves.

Nineteenth century prisons were brutal. The abuse and degradation of prisoner laborers was often nightmarish. It was not the outcry over human rights abuses, however, that spelled the end of the private lease prison system. Change occurred only after a sustained effort by both organized labor and big business. Both were in competition with prison labor and saw their interests served by eliminating private exploitation of prisoner labor.

The passage of a patchwork of state laws around the turn of the century began to put a damper on the exploitation of prisoner labor. It was not until the enactment of two New Deal-Era Federal laws, however, before the practice was essentially eliminated.

Prisoners' labor has since been extracted for the benefit of the state: making licence plates, working on road crews, fighting forest fires, building furniture for use in state buildings, and working on farms to raise food for consumption by the prisoners themselves.

In the 1970's Chief Justice Warren Burger began to advocate for conversion of U.S. prisons into "factories with fences." Congress obliged. As part of the Justice System Improvement Act of 1979, Congress passed an amendment which established seven Prison Industry Enhancement (PIE) pilot projects which would be exempted from the provisions of Ashurst-Sumners (the 1930's Federal Act making it unlawful to transport prison-made goods across state lines).

By 1984, PIE had been expanded to include 20 such pilot projects private businesses operating within U.S. prisons. In 1984 the definition of a PIE "pilot project" was changed to encompass not just a single business enterprise, but all business set up within prisons by either a county or state.

The law was again amended in 1990 to allow up to 50 PIE "pilot projects" (e.g. states) to participate. Today all of the prison-made products from as many as 50 states or counties may legally enter the stream of interstate commerce. And so begins round two of the prison labor profiteering racket, with a PIE big enough for any business in any state to start grabbing a piece.

Washington was one of the first states to embrace the 20th century version of state/corporate prison partnerships. Outgoing Secretary of Corrections, Chase Riveland was one of the concept's biggest boosters. As a result, more than a dozen private businesses operate within Washington's prisons.

One example is Exmark, a company specializing in product packaging which employs approximately 90 prisoners at the Twin Rivers Correction Center (TRCC), in Monroe. Exmark is a subsidiary of Pac Services, a Redmond company which also employs non-prisoner (or "free world") workers. According to prisoners who work for Exmark, they packaged tens of thousands of units of Microsoft Office and more than 50,000 Windows '95 direct mail promotional packets with demo disks.

Washington was one of the first states to embrace the 20th century version of state/corporate prison partnerships . . . As a result, more than a dozen private businesses operate within Washington's prisons.

Steve Curly, a "free world" supervisor who oversees Exmark's prisoner workers, denied the company packed any Windows '95 products, but confirmed that prisoners were used to ship Microsoft Office, and had also wrapped as many as 40,000 Microsoft mice in one week.

Many of Exmark's workers are employed, as one prisoner puts it, "when they have a big contract and need extra workers." When work is plentiful, Exmark workers shift into high gear, often working both day and swing shifts. At other times the crew is scaled back and most workers remain idle in their cells.

Exmark workers say that Microsoft is not the only beneficiary of Exmark's "flexible" low-cost labor force; they also claim to have regularly packaged goods for Costco, Starbucks and JanSport.

They also say that Exmark not only packages products, but also stuffs envelopes for mass mailings, something they claim to have done often for telecommunications giant US West.

For companies like Exmark, PIE partnerships offer an attractive proposition. Exmark pays its workers the minimum wage. That figure can be misleading, though. The Department of Corrections (DOC) deducts 20% of prisoners' wages to recover "costs of corrections." Another 10% is deducted and placed in a non-interest-bearing "mandatory savings" account. Five percent is deducted for a "Victim's Compensation Fund" administered by the state. Federal Income Tax, Social Security tax, and Medicare tax are also withheld. The DOC can deduct an additional 20% to pay "Legal Financial Obligations (court-ordered restitution, child support, court costs, etc.). When all is said and done (after everybody else has had their little slice of the PIE!) prisoners can see a spendable wage of $1.80 to $2.80 per hour. But even this amount is generous, because the law actually authorizes up to 80 percent of a prisoner's wages to be deducted, meaning they could theoretically "take home" less than a dollar an hour.

Exmark and other private companies operating within Washington's prisons do not have to provide their workers with benefits such as health insurance, workers' compensation, or retirement (though the state does offer a comprehensive "Three Strikes" retirement plan!).

Exmark has a "lease" (reminiscent of 19th century "lease prisons") with the DOC wherein they pay one dollar a month for an impressive amount of factory and warehouse space (about 35,000 square feet). This, along with the '~flexible" way Exmark utilizes its prisoner labor, gives them an undeniable advantage over similarly situated companies operating in the "free world."

Most prisoners say that working for Exmark (or other private companies in Washington prisons) offers them tremendous benefits, and these claims are backed up by a waiting list of at least one year for TRCC prisoners hoping to land an Exmark job. Workers say that since they have no real living expenses, most of the money they earn in industry jobs can be sent home to their families. Many of them express a fierce pride in this ability to help provide for their families, even while imprisoned. Since most prison jobs pay 25-38 cents an hour, the prospect of working at Exmark is considered by most prisoners as a cherished opportunity.

Some prison rights activists also think that private industry jobs are a boon to prisoners. Charlie Sullivan, Co-Director of National CURE, a prisoner advocacy organization, was interviewed last year by *Corrections Compendium*. When asked about CURE's accomplishment over the past five years, Sullivan said, "I think in general where it seems like where we've been successful is concerned with employment. We've been working on prison based industries, which involves a philosophical argument going on in the prison reform community - particularly the left wing, which is worried about exploitation of prisoners. But I feel very strongly that we should be moving in the direction of supporting the idea, though certainly there should be caution in setting them up.... As I've said, the whole goal of the system should be to make prisoners employable upon release."

But what kind of jobs will await these "employable" prisoners upon their release? Many jobs that might otherwise be available to them may have moved into prisons. One company, Omega Pacific, Inc., provides an illustrative example.

Omega Pacific was the thirteenth private firm to set up operations in a Washington prison, moving to Airway Heights Corrections Center (AHCC, near Spokane) in 1995. About 40 AHCC prisoners employed by Omega Pacific manufacture 22 types of carabiners - D- shaped metal rings designed for climbers or mountaineers.

Omega Pacific, however, used to manufacture carabiners in Redmond, providing jobs to "free world" workers. Bert Atwater, principal owner of Omega Pacific, told the Spokane *Spokesman Review*, "In Redmond, we would lose workers whenever Boeing began hiring again. When they laid people off, we had a steady work force."

Atwater was contacted by the DOC and persuaded to close his Redmond factory and move the entire operation into the AHCC prison. Atwater characterized the move as a 'twin-win' situation for everyone. For us, because we get a stable work force. And for the taxpayer, in having inmates do real jobs and learn usable skills to help them when they get out."

What about the 40 Redmond workers Atwater laid off when he closed his Redmond factory? Maybe they've all found jobs with Boeing. But where will they go when Boeing lays them off next time — or when Boeing sets up shop inside a prison? Who wins then?

That's all for this month. Until next month, greetings from the gulag.

Dan Pens is co-editor of *Prison Legal News*. For a free sampl issue, write to:

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English-Only:
Racist Rhetoric in a Multicultural Milieu

Jess Grant

"Spanish is the language of dishwashers, fruit pickers and doormen. We should be teaching children English, which is the language of doctors, dentists and lawyers." Ron Taber, defeated candidate for Washington state Superintendent of Public Instruction (SPI).

Ron Taber's remark about the Spanish language was made during an SPI campaign appearance in which he called for an end to bilingual education in the state of Washington. Absurd on its face, the comment tended to inhibit an intelligent discussion of the philosophic, pedagogic and administrative implications of bilingual education, much less the underlying cultural issues it raises. This article will explore some of those deeper questions while attempting to place them in a broader historical context of American xenophobia and institutionalized racism.

Until Taber made his infamous remark, he was better known for his support of school vouchers and educational "choice," a thinly veiled attempt to privatize the public school system. Overnight, however, he became, for better or worse, most closely identified with this quote. As fellow SPI candidate Dan Leahy put it, "(the statement) defined him. It solidified some of his base, but it limited him too. He would've done better without the remark. The (SPI) race became a contest between a racist and the norm."

The remark lowered the level of discussion in the campaign by catering to some of the worst stereotypes about Latinos. Apparently oblivious to the literary contributions of Spanish and Latin American authors such as Miguel de Cervantes, Federico Garcia Lorca and Julio Cortazar, Taber also failed to recognize the obvious fact that doctors, dentists, and lawyers throughout Latin American practice their professions in their native tongue - Spanish. Furthermore, his remark tended to reinforce preconceived ideas of class, implying that "professional" vocations like medicine and law are somehow more socially valuable than blue collar pursuits such as fruit picking. Yet I'll bet that when Taber gets hungry he reaches for a Yakima-grown apple, not a Seattle-prepared legal brief.

Many of Taber's competitors in the SPI primary including Chris Vance, Raul de la Rosa, Gloria Guzman Johannessen, Leahy, and the winner Terry Bergeson, denounced his remark. Said Johannessen, a native of Guatemala, "(he) has to be very ignorant in literature and culture and in the history of the U.S. and very insensitive to the second-largest language group in the U.S." De la Rosa echoed her, saying "I was appalled at the statement." Carol Brewer, administrative coordinator for Bergeson's transition team, confirmed recently in a phone interview that Bergeson supports bilingual education and intends to promote and strengthen it.

Others came to Taber's defense. Seattle Times columnist Michelle Malkin wrote in early July, " he need not apologize for sympathizing with a growing movement of immigrant parents and teachers who object to 'transitional bilingual education (TBE),' the accepted methodology nationwide for teaching limited-English-proficient (LEP) students over the last three decades." Malkin argued that TBE has failed to transition LEP students from the bilingual to English-only setting, and cited a variety of studies and experts to support her point. She painted a grim picture in which LEP students are allowed to wallow in TBE classrooms, deliberately held back by "bilingual bureaucrats" in order to keep a steady stream of State and Federal dollars flowing.

Seattle teacher John E. Dunn countered her arguments in a subsequent letter to the editor. His first hand experience had led him to believe that TBE in Seattle was a "resounding success." He pointed out that, at least in Seattle, TBE was really a misnomer, since "it's not bilingual, except that it provides tutoring and interpreting in the student's language when that is available and necessary." All LEP students are assigned to an English as a Second Language (ESL) class, where learning English is the first and only goal. They then make the transition to regular classrooms, where their success rate has been high and their grades above average.

Guidelines for the State Transitional Bilingual Program (STBP) in Washington, published by the Office of Superintendent of Public Instruction (OSPI), seem to support Dunn's point of view. The main goal of the program, according to these guidelines, is "to develop English language proficiency...(and) assist students to gain mastery in English so as to succeed in communicative interactions socially and academically, meeting grade requirements and promotion." OSPI's authority for developing these guidelines is the Washington Administrative Code (WAC), which defines transitional bilingual instruction as "a system of instruction which uses two languages, one of which is English, as a means of instruction to build upon and expand language skills to enable a student to achieve competency in English..."

The history of bilingual education dates back to the Civil Rights Act of 1964. Title VI of the Act was interpreted to prohibit denial of equal access to education because of a student's limited proficiency in English. According to the U.S. Department of Education (DE) there are over 2 million school children in this country who have limited English language skills which affect their ability to participate effectively in education programs. Unfortunately, most school districts failed to make allowance for these students, so in 1970 the former Department of Health, Education, and Welfare issued "the May 25th Memorandum," which attempted to clarify the districts' responsibility under Title VI. The memorandum stated in part that "the district must take affirmative steps to rectify the language deficiency," and in 1974 the U.S. Supreme Court upheld the May 25th Memorandum in Lau v. Nichols.

Anti-Spanish sentiment can be traced back to a time when England and Spain vied for imperial spoils. "Protestant Englishmen envied Catholic Spaniards their New World...gold and silver. Economic competition mixed with religious conflict to fuel the English enthusiasm for The Black Legend, which portrayed Spaniards as particularly predatory, cruel, and malevolent in their dealings with Indians. New England Puritans brooded over the presence of Spanish Catholics far to the south. Two centuries later...conflicts between them, unresolved since the Reformation, surfaced again." Limerick (1987).

Anti-Spanish sentiment can be traced back to a time when England and Spain vied for imperial spoils. "Protestant Englishmen envied Catholic Spaniards their New World...gold and silver."

The American southwest became a frontier in the truest sense of the word, a place where different cultures met on common ground. Hispanic culture, isolated in the southwest, developed on its own with little respect for either Gringo or Mexican expectations, neither loyal Mexican citizens before the Mexican-American war, nor good Yankees after. When economic conditions worsened to the south as a result of Porfirio Diaz's dictatorship, "Americans, like the Spanish and Mexican officials before them, found that it was extremely difficult to maintain the sanctity of a line across the land when the 'aliens' were convinced that opportunity lay on the other side." Limerick (1987).

When Congress passed a bill restricting immigration in 1924, quotas were set for Europeans entering the U.S., but not for residents of the Western Hemisphere. Nativists were quick to react, complaining that Congress was "barring the front door to America while...leaving the back door wide open...to a vast horde that spread(s) a brown Aztec tint over large sections of our map." Quantifying their objections was a little tough, though, because most Latinos are neither Spanish or Indian, but a mix known as mestizo. The 1920 census placed Mexicans in the category "white," but by 1930 they had redefined "Mexican" as a separate racial category. "Certainly no enterprise in racialistic thinking had ever made the concept of race look more absurd and arbitrary, but such subtleties did not shake the faith of believers. A Texas farmer wrapped the situation up when he said, 'we feel toward the Mexicans just like toward the nigger, but not so much.'" Limerick (1987).

Washington state had very few Spanish-speaking residents until World War II. Racism was rampant nonetheless, though its victims tended to be Natives, Blacks, and Asians. Disease, military campaigns and the destruction of natural habitat had wiped out much of the indigenous population by the turn of the century, and those that were left were largely relegated to the poverty and isolation of the reservations. In the 1880's, Chinese residents of Tacoma were loaded onto boxcars and forcibly run out of town, while in 1881 they were forced out of the smaller Washington community of Tekoa. A white man who showed up at a Walla Walla concert with a black wife was tarred and feathered by a mob of fifty hooded men.

The next century saw similar acts of racial violence in Washington. In 1927-8 there were several anti-Filipino riots in the Yakima valley, while World War II saw "a reordering of prejudices against Asians, as Chinese and Filipinos achieved relative acceptance and the more numerous Japanese community was devastated" by Roosevelt's Executive Order 9066, which removed them to internment camps in the interior where they were imprisoned for three years. Dolbeare (1994).

"The war also generated huge new demand for laborers willing and able to withstand the harsh working conditions of rapidly expanding eastern Washington agriculture. The result was the federal government's 'Bracero Program,' in which, beginning in 1942, Mexican workers were imported in large numbers at harvest time. Many established themselves as willing workers, and eventually obtained visas that enabled them to become permanent residents. From these origins, Mexican Americans grew to become the states largest minority by 1990." Dolbeare (1994). In 1930, the number of Hispanics in the Yakima valley was 37; by 1990 the number had risen to 45,000. Six towns in the region - Grandview, Granger, Mabton, Sunnyside, Toppenish, and Wapato - have Hispanic majorities.

Naturally, this influx of Hispanics has created a cultural polarization in the communities hardest hit by the migration. Long-established patterns of racism have emerged again to meet these new residents, and language has played a key role in the identification and oppression of the latest group of "outsiders." So it's not surprising that the Central Washington agricultural counties with the greatest Hispanic populations would respond most strongly to Ron Taber's anti-Spanish campaign. A careful examination of the run-off election results shows that Taber did best in Chelan, Douglas, Franklin, Grant, Okanogan, and Yakima Counties, all of which have high (7% or better) ratios of Limited English Proficient (LEP) students in their schools, and thus significant bilingual programs. Franklin County has by far the highest level of LEP students (30.4%), and it was there that Taber received his highest percentage of votes (47%). Interestingly, the only county with high LEP student ratios where Taber did poorly was King, which has many Asian and Eastern European LEP students in its schools, and a larger liberal urban constituency.

(Continued next page)

Fluency in English Won't Eliminate Ebonics

Jerome Johnson

All month long, and with some amusement, I've been watching the Great Ebonics Debate. It started in Oakland, where the public schools are 53% black. The Oakland School Board passed a resolution recognizing Ebonics as a language, and suggested that it be used as a teaching tool in classrooms. Not only would this help students feel more comfortable, it would facilitate the use of Standard English by the students as well as preserve the "richness" of the way many black people speak. After listening to and reading the comments of the resolution's supporters, I think I understand what they want to accomplish -- better learning by black students, who consistently have lower test scores and skill levels than white students. Nothing wrong with that -- quite the contrary.

While there is cause for observation and concern, there's no reason for the panic and backlash which have resulted from the Oakland Board's decision. "Ebonics" is a term coined in the early 1970s (Ebony + phonics) to describe the way black people talk. One reason I'm amused is because at though the term Ebonics is relatively new, black people (and our speech) has been in this hemisphere for five hundred years. Like most of the immigrants to the Americas, black people didn't speak English when we arrived. However, black and Native American people have had access to formal education for only about the past hundred years, which influenced how people speak. And because black people have a distinct culture born of our experience in this hemisphere, and this country, we have a distinct language. Since language is the foundation of culture, it's just accepting reality to recognize that Ebonics exists. Hence my amusement: a lot of people are acting as if Ebonics is a new slang, something form the '80s or '70s, but it's much older. Not only that, but "Ebonics" is a very fluid and flexible vernacular. Due to regional differences, the Ebonics we speak in Olympia is different from the Ebonics spoken in Los Angeles or Dallas or Harlem or the rural South. And because of generation differences, the Ebonics I speak with people over fifty is *very* different from my dialogues with younger people.

Another point of interest is the way Ebonics has been put into an all-or-nothing, Ebonics vs. English Only context. A lot of black folks don't feel the need to choose -- we are just as comfortable in either; that's why white people say we're "articulate." Most black families and educators emphasize the speaking of proper English, because that's the national language and fluency in it is essential to success. If kids can't speak English, it's the responsibility of families and teachers to teach them. It would be a grave disservice to assume that because kids are uncomfortable with English or don't speak it outside school, they must be taught in Ebonics and standard English neglected. Those who wish to preserve the "richness" of Ebonics needn't worry -- as the past five centuries have shown, Ebonics has flourished and shows no sign of diminishing. Fluency in English doesn't mean loss of Ebonics. Lack of fluency in English guarantees being locked out of an American mainstream already difficult for even well-educated, highly-skilled blacks to participate in.

Those who wish to preserve the "richness" of Ebonics needn't worry -- as the past five centuries have shown, Ebonics has flourished and shows no sign of diminishing.

The Ebonics controversy would be a tempest in a teapot, except for the crisis facing young black people in their education. I am experiencing it firsthand a the legal guardian of a young black high school student. Like many black students, my ward is struggling in school. It's not because of Ebonics or English, it's because he would rather have fun than work at his studies. Understandable; he's a teenager. But it's my job to work with him to get his schoolwork done, done well, and handed in on time. I talk with at least one of his teachers weekly, and I don't wait until report card time for progress updates. Although it occasionally irritates him, my ward knows that I do these things to help him focus and be successful, because I care about him. He is committed to graduating and going on to college, and he knows that I'll always be there for him. What I'm doing is nothing new -- it's the same thing my family did with me, what black folks have done for centuries. It's what produced Jocelyn Elders, Mae Jamison, Jesse Jackson, Willie Brown, Thurgood Marshall, and Shirley Chisholm, to name only a few. As families, guardians, mentors, we need to be involved with our young people's education. We can't just send them off to school and say, "OK, teachers, do your job." It's a team effort between the family, student, and school, all working toward the same goal -- the best possible education for that student. And I tell my ward the same things my mother told me: "Learn as much as you can about everything you can. Be twice as good as everyone else, you can't afford to just get by. Always be dependable. Education -- both in class and out -- is the key to the chains."

And like me, like millions of other people of color, my ward listens and does his best.

In Los Angeles, the school board contemplates Ebonics as a bridge to learning.

In Atlanta, as elsewhere, people gather to remember and honor Martin Luther King -- Achiever, Minister, Statesman.

And in Olympia, a community welcomes a new family to town, some nice folks from Seattle named Locke. ◆

(English Only, continued)

There are other signs of the cultural tensions brewing in the Yakima valley. On November 9th, 1995, Mike Cantu, Carlos Olivera and Enrique Mendoza met for some food and a game of pool at the Old Town Pump tavern in Union Gap. After finishing their beer and fries they started a conversation in Spanish. The proprietor, Joyce Ostrander, came out from behind the bar and asked them to leave. "This is America," she said later, "where English is supposed to be the main language. We don't want Spanish gibberish here, and we mean it." On January 3rd of this year, the men filed a class action lawsuit in Yakima County Superior Court, claiming the tavern violated a state law prohibiting businesses from discriminating on the basis of race or national origin. But an outpouring of financial and emotional support for Ostrander has made it clear that many people in the area share her feelings.

A similar incident was reported in Shelton, just a few miles west of Olympia. The owner of the Fir Cone Tavern, a third generation bartender named Elmer P. "Buddy" Smith who's been pouring drinks in Shelton for 27 years, plead guilty in the Spring of 1994 to charges of instructing his employees to refuse service to Hispanics. He was sentenced to take a college course on cultural diversity, fined $600 to finance an education campaign among his staff, and forced to write letters of apology to everyone who was refused service as a result of his policy.

The English-only question is closely related to the issue of bilingual education, raising all the same cultural fears among English-speaking white Americans. 23 states in this country have passed some sort of English-only law, but not until now has one of those laws been challenged all the way to the U.S. Supreme Court. In most states such laws are largely symbolic, "similar to the declaration of a state flower or bird." But Arizona's Article 28, which amends the state constitution, applies to the speech of all state employees - "whether a Mexican-American legislator greeting his constituents or a Navajo meter reader trying to explain a water bill to a native American housewife." Christian Science Monitor (1996).

Because the justices focused on the procedural aspects of the case during oral arguments, there is some doubt whether the merits of the case will actually be taken up by the court. If they do, however, their decision will have far-reaching consequences. It would be the first time the Supreme Court has applied "the First Amendment to a citizen's choice of language - the right to speak or be spoken to in a different tongue." However, the case may be moot, since the former Governor of Arizona no longer wishes to be associated with the case, and the plaintiff, a medical malpractice claims adjuster and law student named Maria Kelley Yniguez, no longer works for the state.

As Marquand and Davidson state so eloquently in their Christian Science Monitor article, "language is an issue that stirs deep feelings on both sides of a national debate that pits diversity and gradual assimilation against advocates of promoting common culture via tough language laws." Ron Taber has clearly come down on the side of common culture. In the short run, his appeal to the xenophobic fears of Washington's electorate appears to have backfired (or at least not helped him much), though his failure to win the SPI race can be ascribed to many other causes as well. In the long run, however, his ability to capture 37% of the vote indicates a frightening trend towards intolerance in our state, one which, left unchallenged, could have a devastating effect on white and brown Washingtonians alike. Fortunately, bilingual education will continue under the leadership of new SPI Terry Bergeson, growing in importance as the state's Hispanic population continues to increase.

A Good Education If they give you a slap on the left cheek, smile, master the perverse impulse to avenge yourself, act as if you were above it and, finally, spin around until your right side is sitting in perfect position.

Don't pay attention to those who criticize and try to modify your attitude. That way you'll be a Christian of the old guard and an educated boy. After all, a bird in the hand...

-- By Guatemalan poet Arqueles Morales, translated from the Spanish by William Greenwood.

Jennifer Phipps and Mike Louisell contributed to this article. Jess Grant is an IWW organizer, a singer/songwriter with the band Centralia 19, and a graduate student at Evergreen. ◆

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The Activist's Handbook:

An Interview with Randy Shaw

Amy Pincus-Merwin

Randy Shaw has been for the last fifteen years and is currently the Director and Supervising Attorney for the Tenderloin Housing Clinic in San Francisco, the city's leading provider of legal services to low-income tenants and operates the city's largest permanent housing program for single homeless adults. He is the author of *The Activist's Handbook: A Primer for the 1990's and Beyond.* Contact him at (415)771-9850.

Healing Currents: How would you define a progressive agenda?

Randy Shaw: I think the essence of a progressive agenda is moves for social and economic justice in the broad terminology, whether it be more equitable distribution of wealth and resources, environmental protection, civil rights, women's rights, gay rights, and a civil rights agenda combined with an economic and social justice agenda.

HC: What are the most important tools for activists?

RS: The most fundamental issue is to be pro-active. What progressive constituencies have to do is determine their agendas—what they want to accomplish and what their goals are, and then spend time developing the tactics and strategies to accomplish that. While that may seem rather obvious, many progressives spend a great deal of time fighting battles on terms framed by their opponents, and spend so much time on the defensive that they never end up doing their progressive agenda.

The most glaring example is crime. You have many progressives jumping on the more policed, the more prisoned band wagon, and they are letting crime be defined, as the right wing conservatives define it, a law and order issue as opposed to a function of poverty, lack of education, equal wealth and rights. If you don't set up an agenda and emphasize passing your agenda then you are never going to see anything get accomplished. That is virtually guaranteed. The most you will do is maintain an untenable status quo, which is not something that most activists want to do or else they wouldn't be activists to begin with.

The biggest strategic error that progressive constituencies tend to make is to not adopt the appropriate relationship with those people they do elect. When you do not hold the elected officials accountable you are virtually assured of being betrayed, and therefore, accomplishing nothing through the electoral process that you have invested so much energy into. It is very difficult for many progressive constituencies, because some of the people they elect act like they are your friend and they talk in ways that say 'You wouldn't believe what I am dealing with here. The corporate power is so great and I am fighting for you every minute'. They act like they are your friend, but in fact they are really no different from the standard politician in that they only reward their major financial contributors and they betray those people and constituencies they are not afraid of. I think the fear and loathing approach to elected officials is an essential aspect to achieving social change.

HC: Could you describe tactical activism?

RS: That means you're actually planning and analyzing and discussing strategy. So often there is very little strategizing done in campaigns. There is a reflex—something occurs, then groups go and react instead of sitting down and thinking "how do we win this? What are the all aspects of this campaign? How do we analyze it?" Laying out the kind of strategy that you necessarily need to succeed in any aspect of life, doesn't happen as often as it should in the political realm.

Progressive forces need to form diverse coalitions. Be able to make alliances with people and groups that maybe disagree with you on fifty percent of the issues. The issue you need to win on, you will be in alliance on.

HC: How come the religious right has been so successful?

RS: The religious right is not as powerful and it is starting to show it's not as powerful as people have made it. I do think there is too much of an obsession with the religious right among the progressive forces. I think where they have been successful is that they clearly have an agenda and they have an agenda which broad numbers of people subscribe to, and they do hold their elected officials accountable.

Throughout the eighties you had right-wing candidates running against incumbent Republicans who were moderate to drive them out of the party and move the party to the right. Progressives haven't done that as much.

It is very interesting when we had a democratic President and a democratic Congress in '93 and '94. You looked at not only who the President was, but who the democrats who were running Congress and they were really the old boy network of corporate America. It was enough just to let progressives elect any Democrat instead of making sure they were someone who supported their agenda.

HC: Do you think the religious right did a better job of aligning the media with their cause?

RS: It is astonishing to me the credibility Ralph Reed (the head of the Christian Coalition) gets in the *New York Times*. There is no question that the press gives a level of credibility to the Christian Right that is never given to progressive forces. Many major corporations are aligned with the interest of the Christian Right, they are often in coalition on issues and so there is going to be more sympathy for that perspective.

Since the 1980 election, The Republican party's corporate wing and their cultural conservative wing have entered into an arrangement of convenience for their mutual gain. The corporate sector is not too concerned with school prayer and the social agenda of the Christian Right. They have accepted that, in exchange for the Christian Right supporting policies that benefit corporate America. Now you are starting to see some withering of that coalition. You are starting to see the corporate side of the Republican party being a little uncomfortable as the extreme views of the Christian coalition are starting to hurt their candidate—the corporate candidate.

HC: Would you talk about direct action as an activist's tools?

RS: I think direct action has been under utilized. Both ACT UP and the AIDS coalition had phenomenal success. Look at what they accomplished outside the political arena in the most hostile, anti-gay political environment that has ever existed. They were solely motivated in achieving a particular goal without regard to the political consequences of their personal ambitions.

It is no longer that exciting to the media, or that effective, in terms of influencing politicians just to turn out a whole bunch of people to the capital mall in Washington or to march to a city hall or a statehouse.

Earth First! has been phenomenally successful in preserving forests and natural resources outside the normal way of operating. You would think that with everything they are doing for the environment they would get positive press, but because they don't play by what the establishment has determined are the rules they get very negative press. I think many very progressive groups fall into establishment sanc-

(Continued next page)

The myth about anarchism

Holly Ann Aquino

Often times when someone hears of an Anarchists' convention, they jokingly ask if it is possible for Anarchists to hold a convention. If one knows only of the mainstream's definition of Anarchy, if that concept where actually true, then an Anarchists' convention would entail a group of people dressed in black coming together with the intention of collectively expressing their unique style of looting and pillaging. What kind of seminar would an Anarchist hold anyhow? Rock throwing technique? Malatov cocktails in minutes. Well, yes, but besides those there are actually several other seminars one can attend at an Anarchists' convention, including how to plan and support a collective garden, viable bartering systems, how to organize your fellow workers to insure that everyone gets a fair wage, free school, the list goes on and on. In fact upon taking a closer look at the Anarchist movement as a whole one realizes that there is nothing disorganized about anarchy at all. The concept functions as follows: In order for there to be a movement without any "leaders," people working within the anarchist movement must maintain a tight level of person to person communication and organization.

Anarchy is that. It is a movement which not only embraces diversity but recognizes that it could never be successful without adopting the mind-set that we are all unique and powerful and effectual humans because of this uniqueness and not in spite of it. There is no such thing as focal power, there is no one person in charge, no one person is responsible for the success of the organization but instead everyone within the organization is responsible for any success. Granted there are people within some anarchist organizations who might have more information about their particular organization than others, but this does not mean that one particular person has access to more information about the organization than others. It just means that this is a person who wanted to know more at a certain point in time and is now capable of passing the knowledge onto others. Time and time again this concept of anarchy has proven to be more than yet another example of theory versus practice. The fact that everyone within the group is responsible for the success or failure of that group blended with anarchy's openness and acceptance toward diversity.

Anarchy is not a group of disorganized social fringe dwellers. Anarchy is a community of humans working together to empower one another to play a role toward a harmonious and successful endeavors. Of course there is always the hope that in the process of obtaining this harmony Anarchists can also find ways to collectively stick it to the man, but for the most part Anarchists seek to find ways we can all work closely for a better world. Pretty radical, huh?

(Interview, continued)

tion methods of direct action instead of using the creativity you've seen Earth First! and ACT UP use. The Disability Rights Movement occupied a federal office building for twenty-five days to get what they wanted. That is a very creative tactic.

HC: How can an activist use the courts to crest social change?

RS: I don't think the courts have been an avenue for social change any longer, given the shifts of the last twenty years. Attorneys can play a helpful role in social change movements and how to avoid the fractions that have developed there.

Progressive forces need to form diverse coalitions. Be able to make alliances with people and groups that maybe disagree with you on fifty percent of the issues. The issue you need to win on, you will be in alliance on. I think that another difference between the right and the left, is the left is more concerned that they only want to work with people who share all of their basic values.

I talk about the big incinerator struggle in Brooklyn, where you had two groups that had nothing in common. The Hasidic Jews and the Puerto Ricans Catholics in Williamsburg succeeded in defeating an incinerator which was backed by the *New York Times*, Wall Street, every major Democrat in Manhattan and the former Cuomo administration. They are very low-income communities, but they came together because even though they had a lot of fights and a lot of issues they both opposed the incinerator. They were constantly in violent conflict with each other, but worked together and their unity ended up stopping a strong, politically backed incinerator in the neighborhood.

HC: How could a national coalition work?

RS: I call for a National Environmental Convention because I think we have to clear away all the rubbish that has built up and really get the American public focused on a few issues that they can all agree upon and move forward on. When you have polls showing overwhelming numbers of Americans, sixty to seventy percent, really wanting strong environmental laws and then you see them not being passed by Congress, something is wrong politically. We have a majority of the population who wants one thing and they are not able to accomplish that in the political arena. That is why we need to look at what their strategic shortcomings are.

Local environmentalists, which often are more politically savvy, need to get more involved in nationalizing their issues. That is something that is so critical. Instead of just saying, 'we can't do anything about it because we are here, in our town, and these decisions are made back in Washington.' You can influence national issues at the local level. Local environmentalists have to do that.

HC: Do activist's enjoy being on the political fringe?

RS: There are people who enter political activism from a wide variety of motives and there are some people who kind of like fighting David and Goliath battles and losing. I'm focusing on people who really do want to see a different vision and what a different kind of society than what we have now and wan to make that happen and not obsess with remaining on the fringe.

HC: Could you talk about the strategy for getting funding?

RS: This is a climate where we have a lot of groups and they have succeeded thus far in funding themselves and success just breeds more money. Ultimately the most stable funding source is not to rely on foundations, but to have a group that is membership supported.

HC: How can people tell which groups are effective?

RS: I think people sort of do know who's been effective. The group PETA, People for the Ethical Treatment of Animals, is phenomenally effective. Alex Pachako is the head of the group, along with Ingrid Newkirk, and his salary is $28,000 a year out of a $10-20 million worldwide budget. When you see the ratio of how much money is dedicated to administration and overhead and how much is dedicated to direct services and programs you can see if a group is committed to program. Unfortunately, non-profits almost become conservative because you start dealing with foundations rather than what your constituency needs. If you start letting foundations dictate what you do, you are not going to be as effective.

HC: Do you have any comments or opinions about one of the most effective activists in the nation—the Reverend Jesse Jackson?

RS: The essence of Jesse Jackson that makes him so special is that he has never compromised his principles. The main critique is that he comes into town for a press event and that he grandstands. I wish more people would do that.

What is interesting about Jesse Jackson that ties into the whole issue of Afro-American politics of this country, is that maybe he has been so effective because he isn't hanging around the Senate and the Congress. Many of the best of brightest of the Afro-Americans are not in the communities building power and organizing. They are in Congress and the State legislatures. Sometimes I wonder if some incredibly great talent is sitting in Congress, and whether that has been a talent drain for a really besieged community. Jackson is not caught up with the bureaucracy of being in Congress.

In the sixties there were many great leaders and various civil rights groups. Now when you say, "Who are the African-American leaders?" Most people say "Jesse Jackson," and then, who else?

HC: What would you say to a National Progressive Social Change activist's convention?

RS: The main thing is to develop a clear and strategic agenda, and then pursue it. Also, those politicians that do not follow it are not your friends, and you have to attack them because the only way they will adhere to the agenda is if they are afraid of political retaliation. If they are not afraid of it, then they are going to screw you over.

HC: How can we create a proactive agenda in which people build broad based coalitions made up of many constituencies like the mobilization against the Viet Nam War against?

RS: Environmental issues transcend everything. It is the only area that everyone seems to have an interest in. I wish everyone was into poverty issues or distributing wealth, but unfortunately we are not going to have a mass movement. The environment is an issue that crosses class, gender, and race lines and when you deal with environmental issues it seems to benefit all progressive constituencies across the board.

There could have been a national movement for healthcare, but it didn't happen. Environmental issues and heath issues are the broad based issues.

(Editor's note: In 1994, over 80% of all American without health care were children.)

This interview was originally published in the July/August 1996 issue of Healing Currents Journal and is reprinted with permission from the author. Amy Pincus Merwin is the editor/publisher of Healing Currents Journal, a free monthly journal distributed throughout Western and Central Oregon which focuses on holistic lifestyles and progressive social change. She is also a free lance writer and editor, and owner of Cedarhill Getaway, an ecologically-based retreat in Oregon's Coastal Mountains and InForm Productions, a small business and nonprofit consultancy. She can be reached at (541) 345-1633, 2220 Sandy Drive, Eugene, OR 97401, afp@efn.org. ◆

Randy Shaw In Olympia

Thursday, February 20th

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Noon Speech

TESC
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Evening Booksigning and Speech

For more info: EPIC 866-6000 x6144

"The job of a citizen is to keep his mouth open."

–Gunter Grass

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Judi Bari Bombing Case Update

The FBI and Earth First!

Judi Bari

On November 22, 1996, a federal judge refused to hear government attorneys' latest arguments for dismissal of a false arrest and civil rights lawsuit filed against the FBI and Oakland police by Judi Bari and Darryl Cherney and ordered lawyers for the FBI and the city of Oakland to present all opposing motions they plan, so one hearing eventually can be held.

In their most recent bid, government lawyers had filed motions contending police searches surrounding the bombing case were "reasonable". Bari's lawyers were prepared to argue that information uncovered in investigative files shows the FBI and OPD knowingly lied about potential evidence to justify the activists' arrests.

Bari, a successful and energetic environmental activist, announced that she is suffering from breast cancer. Bari, who has two daughters, said in a statement that she learned recently she has the disease, and it has spread to her liver.

(Note: This update assumes that you already know the basics of the bombing case and FBI lawsuit, and the basics of the FBI's COINTELPRO program. If you don't, please write or call us for a copy of the brochure, "Who Bombed Judi Bari?")

The November 22 court hearing is not the only thing going on in the FBI lawsuit. Quite a bit has happened since the last update a year ago. We are still battling the FBI for release of files and information, but the information that we have succeeded in prying loose has been very interesting, revealing new layers of FBI wrongdoing.

FBI Prior Knowledge

Throughout their sworn testimony in this case, the FBI agents have repeatedly said that they never heard of Darryl or me before the bombing, and they were not investigating Earth First! In 1991, the FBI even made this claim in writing to Congress, in a reply to a set of questions from Congressman Frank Riggs.

Yet the Oakland Police have said in their sworn testimony that the FBI appeared at the bombing scene and told the OPD that Darryl and I were known terrorists, that we were Earth First!ers, and that we were "the type of individuals who would be involved in transporting bombs."

One small victory that we have won in the past year was to force the FBI to reveal the file passages (which they originally blacked out) that show who is lying. And surprise! It's the FBI. Their own field report, written minutes after the bomb exploded, states that Darryl and I were already known to the FBI and were "the subjects of an FBI investigation in the terrorist department." This charge, along with references to Earth First!, is also repeated in two other reports written just after the bombing, and originally withheld from us.

This information is important for several reasons. First, it shows that the FBI lied under oath in this lawsuit, and that they lied in writing to Congress in 1991. It also give credence to our claim that the true motive for the bombing arrest was to discredit Earth First!

And, strangely, nearly all the file numbers in the bombing case FBI file have been crossed out, and a new file number written in. The new file numbers seem to contain hundreds of pages fewer than the old file numbers.

But even more important, it shows the FBI engaging in illegal spying, targeting political activists in phony "terrorism" probes. Because of course we are *not* terrorists, and we were not involved in any illegal activities that could justify the FBI's interest in us. Instead, we were highly public organizers of mass nonviolent demonstrations, and the FBI had no right and no authorization to investigate us.

This is the exact kind of abuse of activists rights that the FBI was found guilty of and ordered to cease in the COINTELPRO hearings in 1975. And this is why they lied and tried to cover up their prior knowledge of Darryl and me before the bombing.

by Eugene Louis

The Arizona EF! File

Another of our accomplishments this past year was to win a court order forcing the FBI to turn over their long-withheld San Francisco field office file on the Arizona Earth First! FBI sting operation. This operation, which lasted from 1988-1990, was a classic COINTELPRO-style campaign, in which the FBI infiltrated the Arizona Earth First! group with agent provocateurs. These provocateurs, including undercover Agent Michael Fain and paid FBI informant Ron Frazier, won the trust of a small group of activists over a period of two years, then convinced them to cut down a power line. The FBI agents bought the tools, taught the activists how to use them, chose the site, drove the activists there, and of course, busted them in the act.

The FBI claimed that the Arizona EF! case had nothing to do with us. We claim that the case is key to ours, because it shows that, at the time of the bombing, Earth First! was an active target of an FBI COINTELPRO operation designed (in the classic words of J. Edgar Hoover) to misdirect, discredit, and neutralize us.

Even more important, the FBI's plan in Arizona was to misdirect and discredit EF! by associating us with explosives. The FBI's code name for the Arizona EF! case was 'Thermcon," an acronym for Thermite Conspiracy. This name is very revealing of the FBI's motives, since there was no thermite, or any other explosive, used in any EF! action, ever. But, as shown in the file, the two provocateurs spent years telling the EF!ers they could get them thermite, and trying to convince them to use thermite.

Eventually the FBI had to settle for getting the activists to cut down the power pole with an acetylene torch, as they were unable to convince them to use explosives. But it is important to note that Operation Thermcon did not consist of the FBI infiltrating EF! to break up a thermite conspiracy. It consisted of the FBI using provocateurs to infiltrate EF! and try to *create* a thermite conspiracy for them to bust. It is in the context of this ongoing COINTELPRO operation against EF!—this attempt to discredit us by linking us with explosives—that the FBI terrorist squad moved in after I was bombed in Oakland and declared Darryl and me to be the bombers.

Local Surveillance

The San Francisco FBI field office file on the Thermcon case details the FBI's local activities in support of the sting operation. The file shows that the very same FBI agents who were central to my case also worked on the Thermcon case, bringing into question their repeated claims that they knew little or nothing about EF! before the bombing.

Much of the local activity in the Thermcon case involved routine spying and information gathering on various public EF! leaders. SA Frank Doyle, for example, performed the task of finding the directions to EF!er Karen Pickett's house. One man named Mark Berry, who lived in Marin and was not and EF!er or even and activist, was placed under total surveillance by the FBI because he was visited by EF!er Mark Davis, the central target of the Arizona sting. Davis and Berry were old friends who used to work together in a cabinet-making shop. Even though there was no evidence of Berry being involved in any crimes ever, the FBI placed a phone and mail cover on him,

(Continued next page)

Alice is Coming To Town!

You can call me too controversial,
singing for survival.
I'd rather be called radical
than just to stand back
and watch this planet go by.
—Alice DiMicele

It was a rainy Friday afternoon when we decided to pile into Annie's ancient Volkswagen and head for the hills. Actually we were headed toward the Gifford Pinchot National Forest, and Annie's van isn't too old, it just feels lived in and the important parts-stereo, transmission, windshield wipers-work just fine. We had been in the van for about twenty minutes and were just dozing off when we heard the words "Celebrate the rain, comin' down! Celebrate the green trees growin' from the ground!"

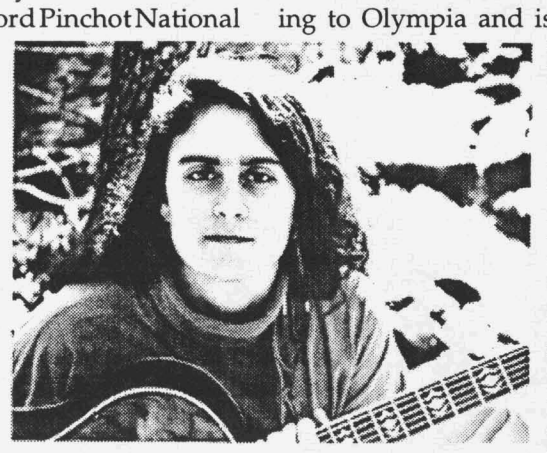
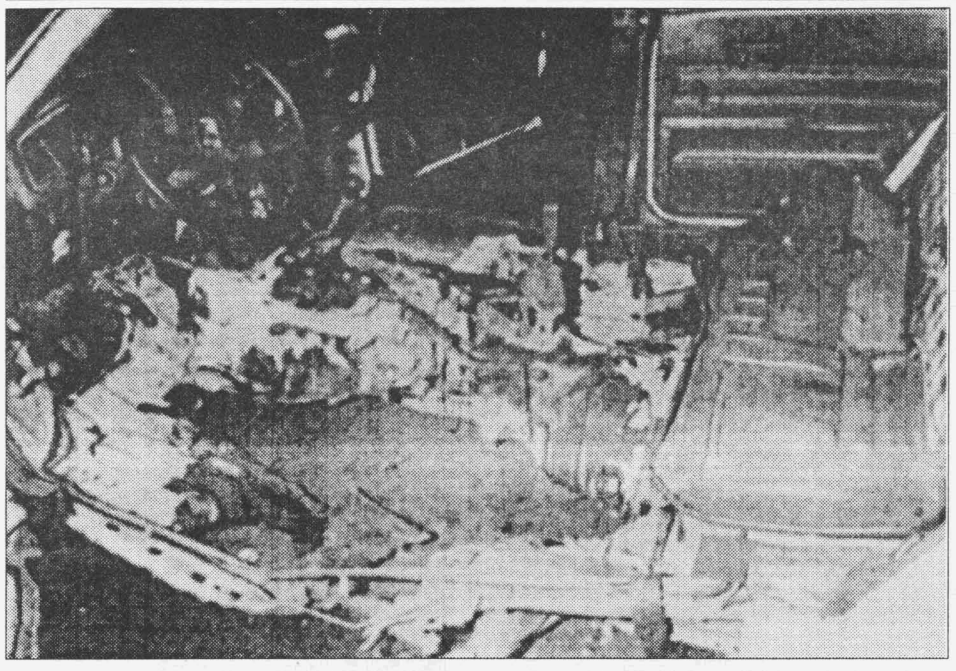


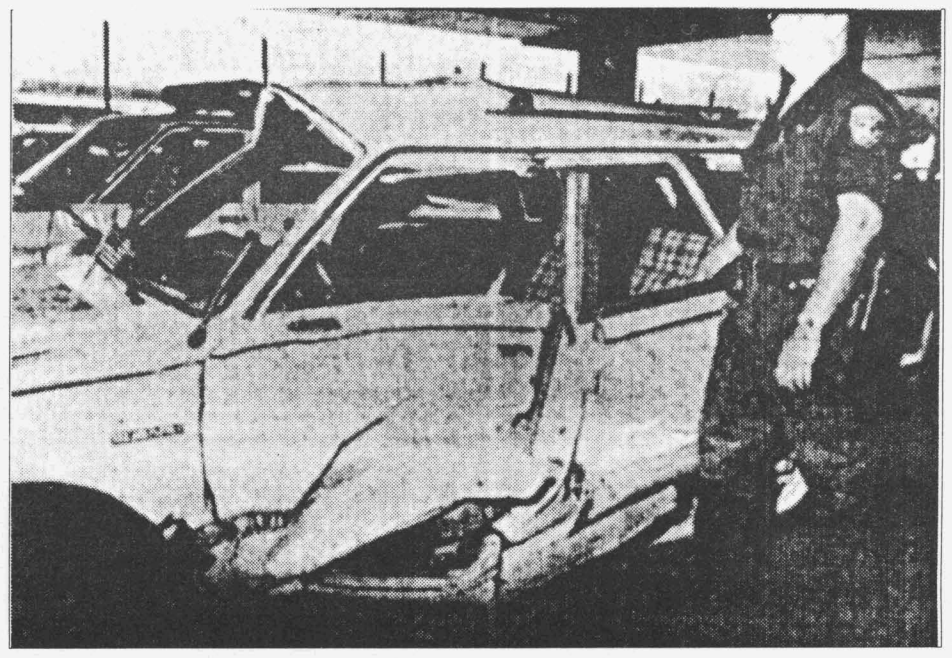
Photo by Samuel Wade

Annie had put in her new Alice DeMicele tape and I woke right up. See, Alice's (her last name is pronounced DeeMissEllie by the way) voice is very smooth and extraordinarily vibrant. Laura Post of *Sing Out* magazine remarked that Alice writes "Simple and stirring songs... she is prolific and poetic songwriter." She also just happens to have produced four albums that celebrate the natural world and display her incredible voice and versatility. She sings about the rain, South American politics, Leonard Peltier and has some great songs that I taught my four year old cousin to sing with me, albeit a little off key. She reminds me that all is not lost, that the color of rain dripping off wet pine needles is important, and that we all have something to give. (SHE IS FANTASTIC! I CAN'T WAIT TO SEE HER LIVE!)

Now for the clincher: she is coming to Olympia and is going to be joined by the Citizens Band and preceded by a slide show from Paul Joslin! For anybody who has never seen the Citizens Band play live-well, I'm sorry... but here you have another chance to bogey down to Citizens Band classics like Dance My Way To Freedom after learning about WOLVES in a with Dr. Paul Joslin. Paul is the director of the Wolves and Whales Society, based here in Washington, and will be giving a slide show on wolves and how our relationship with them is evolving, reintroduction efforts, and where they are turning for habitat as we eat up the wild places they used to roam.

For more information about Alice, Paul, and the Citizens Band, please call the Environmental Resource Center at 866-600O, extension 6784.





(FBI, continued)

had agents parked outside his house following his every move, and flew surveillance planes over him. They even sent a pregnant FBI agent and a man FBI agent to check out Berry's cabinet shop, posing as husband and wife shopping for furniture for baby.

The Thermcon file pages that we have seen do not specifically show them surveilling Darryl or me, but much of the file is blacked out and there are pages missing. The file does show that the FBI was conducting undercover operations against Earth First! in Mendocino County where I live, as early as 1988. And, although the Thermcon case was closed in January 1990, the San Francisco FBI continued to put local reports in the file in March 1990 which show that an undercover FBI informant was meeting with an undercover FBI agent once a week, somewhere in Northern California. We can't tell the subject or content of these meetings because the document is heavily blacked out. I was bombed only two months later.

Missing Documents

The strangest part of the San Francisco FBI's Thermcon file is not what is there, but what is missing. In between the first and second document that show the weekly meetings of undercover agents in 1990, there is a page that simply reads "Serials 141-159 were missing from this file when it was processed." The next document in the file is from June 1990, one month *after* the bombing. So the missing documents cover the exact period that we are interested in—beginning right before the bombing.

The FBI lawyer has told us that there are not really any missing documents. It was just a clerical error, caused by the fact that they were changing their computer system. But the fact is that those serial numbers are indeed missing, and if it was just a computer error you have to wonder why the person who processed the file included the page that acknowledged the missing documents.

Nor is this the only case of missing file numbers in our FBI files. The main file on the bombing case seems to be missing whole sections of information. For example, there are absolutely no FBI reports in my file that document the FBI's inspection of my bombed car and conclusion that the bomb was in the teach seat, etc. There are also absolutely no files that document the FBI Headquarters lab expert SSA Williams' trip to Oakland to inspect the bombed car, in which he informed the local FBI that the bomb was hidden under my car seat and triggered by a motion device.

And, strangely, nearly all the file numbers in the bombing case FBI file have been crossed out, and a new file number written in. The new file numbers seem to contain hundreds of pages fewer than the old file numbers. But just as in the Thermcon file, the FBI lawyer has assured us that the files are not really missing. He says that, at the time the file was made, the FBI had an incompetent rotor clerk (the secretary who keeps the files), and they had to fire her and re-do her work But when we asked for the names of the incompetent rotor clerk and her replacement so we could question them under oath, the FBI simply refused to produce them. And even though we have now gotten a court order telling them to produce the rotor clerks for questioning, they have been dragging their feet and have so far not done so.

Lingering Questions

So even though we have learned much about the bombing frame-up and the FBI's wrongdoing in this case, there are serious questions that still need to be answered. For example, since the FBI's records state that, at the time of the bombing, Darryl and I were "the subjects of an ongoing investigation in the terrorist department," what were we being investigated for and where are the records of that investigation? And, if we were being investigated, were we, as principle EF! organizers, under FBI surveillance at the time of the bombing?

These questions may never be answered. But the FBI lawsuit is the only way we have to even try to find out. We hope you will continue to support our efforts in this lawsuit, both to gain justice for the FBI abuses we have already proven, and the try to get to the bottom of what really happened when I was bombed in 1990.

Redwood Summer Justice Project
PO Box 14720
Santa Rosa, CA 95402
(707) 528-9043

Reminisce and dance with a slide show with highly acclaimed photographer Elizabeth Ferly and music with the "charged" lyrics of singer, song writer Robert Hoyt

From Northern California Red Woods, to Warner Creek, OR, to Cove/Mallard, ID, and home to the Rocky Brook in the Olympics

Around this time last year many people in this area were acting from their hearts and putting their feet in motion. Joining together, people protested to protect the forests through out Casacadia from the evils of the Salvage Rider.

Over a thousand were arrested, many spent cold crazy nights running, jumping, building, digging, planning for the intensity of the next day. Police with dogs (Rocky Brook, WA), police with semi-automatic guns (Jack Road, ID), forest workers with an oppositional view and a temper (ID, WA, OR), documented undercover agents (Red 90 tree sale, OR) all came to try and stop all those good Americans from protecting the land(that was once set aside for us all as "commons").

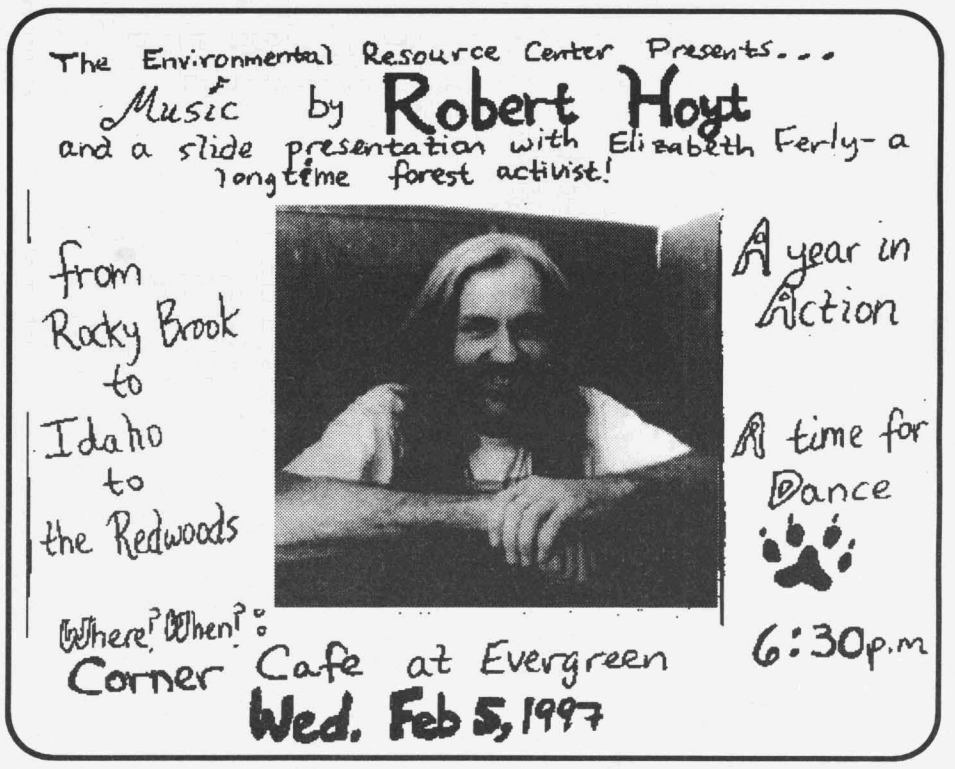
In the Spirit of all this love / work that people in this area have done, The Environmental Resource Center at the Evergreen State College, Corner Cafe invites you to reminisce and dance with a slide show with highly acclaimed photographer Elizabeth Ferly and music with the "charged" lyrics of singer, song writer Robert Hoyt on February 5 at 6:30.

Elizabeth Ferly's slide show will consist of slides from Northern California Red Woods, to Warner Creek, OR (longest most powerful road blockade in US history, well over 300 days), to Cove / Mallard, ID, and home to the Rocky Brook tree sale in the Olympic National Forest. She will expose the more recent effect of the Salvage Rider and what people can do in the future.

"Robert's unique singing voice is electric, charged with intensity and truth. His lyrics, too, are charged particles that do not abide a stagnant complacency, and if one harbors secret stashes of illusion, prejudice, or selfishness, they can sting. Yet to those whose hearts are open to the world, the songs of Robert Hoyt are energizing and enlightening." His songs take on racism, homophobia, and environmental degradation.

It has been said that "one byproduct of the Reagan-Bush years that no one expected was a proliferation of the old-fashioned protest singer, an individual armed with a guitar, a voice and a need to point out that the emperor's wearing no clothes. Hoyt takes his shots at the country's governors, homophobes, and irresponsible corporations." Robert Hoyt's two albums are called As American As you and Dumpster Diving across America.

All you good Americans
read between the lines
Help your siblings everywhere
to open up closed minds
Stand up to those who are to blame
For crimes committed in our names,
All you good Americans
Things can't stay the same. u


The Environmental Resource Center Presents...
Music by Robert Hoyt
and a slide presentation with Elizabeth Ferly- a longtime forest activist!
from Rocky Brook to Idaho to the Redwoods
A year in Action
A time for Dance
6:30p.m
Where? When?:
Corner Cafe at Evergreen
Wed. Feb 5, 1997

Big Mountain Update

Support Dineh Defense of Sacred Land

Swaneagle Harijan

The largest forced relocation of Indian people in the 20th century has been underway in northeastern Arizona for nearly 20 years. Public Law *93-531* was passed in 1974 after the OPEC oil embargo pushed the US and multi-national corporations towards "energy independence". Over 14,000 traditional Dineh (Navajo) people have been severely impacted by this law enacted with virtually no public discourse. The largest coal field in north America sits under Black Mesa, the area where the Dineh people have resided for hundreds of years. Uranium and oil shall further the resource wealth of this land sacred to both Dineh and Hopi people. 100 Hopi and over 10,000 Dineh were relocated destroying their self-sufficient life style. The remaining 3,000 people are resisting and many have vowed to leave only when dead. It is these Sovereign Dineh people who are asking for support as they face the final onslaught of this genocidal eviction.

Currently, Resisters have been told that if, by April 1, 1997, they do not sign the "Accommodation Agreement", a shameless compromise allowing Elders to remain on 3 acres with 1 horse, 1 cow, 1 sheep and 1 goat for 75 years not to be passed on to their children, they will face Bureau of Indian Affairs paramilitary police and US Marshals. The last time Dineh faced such a threat was July 6, 1986 when they had prepared for the National Guard to move against them. Hundreds of supporters were present to witness the Spiritual stand of Dineh Elders and their children. Though force was not used to remove them, a policy of slow motion, low intensity warfare was enacted using fighter jets, Hughes Apache helicopters, BIA livestock impoundment crews, tool and firewood confiscation and other means of torturing Dineh resister families. Thousands worn down by harassment, starvation conditions and loss of traditional survival means were placed in cluster housing tracks. One of the most notorious being the "New Lands", site of the largest nuclear spill in US history when *97* million gallons of highly radioactive waste broke thru United Nuclear's Churchrock dam contaminating the Rio Puerco River in *1979*. The radioactive water source has induced chronic illnesses and birth defects. Many other relocatees have died of broken hearts or suicide and countless others are among Amerikkka's homeless.

The stand at Big Mountain and the other resisting communities is a Spiritual, Nonviolent one based within the teachings of the Dineh. The Creator has instructed them to remain within the 4 sacred mountains where they were born and where their umbilical cords are buried. The entire culture is centered around ceremony and daily life reflects this. Dineh resisters say they obey the laws of the Creator and not those of the white man. Pauline Whitesinger, Dineh elder and resistance initiator, said in 1985 that "It is the ceremonies that keep the evil away." The spiritual practices have kept resisters strong, but laws passed by the US government backed Hopi Tribal Council (both Navajo and Hopi Tribal Councils were established by the Feds) are interfering by destroying shrines, burial sites and herb gathering areas in the name of economic development. Peabody Coal Co. is the main perpetrator of destruction giving a fraction of profits to the Councils sanctioning the largest coal strip mine in north Amerikkka. Grave sites have been destroyed, water contaminated, sheep killed and air polluted since Peabody began operations in the '60's. Though a recent permit challenge succeeded initially for the first time in calling Peabody out to be accountable to this genocidal disregard for traditional residents, it was overturned leaving the mining operations uninterrupted.

THIS IS A MAJOR ATROCITY IN AMERIKKKA THAT MUST BE HALTED WITH UNPRECEDENTED ACTIONS OF SUPPORT ON THE PART OF COURAGEOUS PRIVILEGED, WHITE SKINNED ACTIVISTS WHO COMPREHEND THE NATURE OF THIS GENOCIDE!!! (In this racist war zone, anyone who is not dark skinned has a level of protection, endangered as it is, that can be utilized as conscience necessitates.)

One of the most immediate needs for Dineh resisters in this remote area of northeastern Arizona is to have sheepherders to graze the sheep and to protect them from BIA impoundment crews who are now targeting Dineh refusing to sign the Accommodation Agreement. These are the Resisters. These are also those who will be targeted by police and marshals even more after April, 1997. Activists who can walk 15 to 20 miles a day with the sheep, who can live self-sufficiently (bring food, etc.) in high desert conditions, have a deep concept of cultural sensitivity, awareness of racism and willingness to forego alcohol, are of utmost value. It would be most helpful to have as many such people as possible before February 10th so that Dineh Elders will be free to travel to the Federal Court House in Phoenix for a so-called "Fairness Hearing". This is also an opportunity to get a firsthand feel for the land and the urgency of this situation. Cameras and recorders to document harassment are crucial as well.

It is vital at this time for people to become aware of the Bureau of Indian Affairs offices in their areas and begin a dialog that shows the Dineh are not alone in their struggle to defend Sacred Land. These dialogs will be followed by lock downs and occupations if force is deployed against the Dineh. What could emerge from this is the most visible, solidified force of white Amerikkkans of conscience to ever emerge in support of indigenous people in the sad history of colonialization. Those considering confronting the BIA are being asked to behave in an absolutely peaceful, respectful way reflecting the spiritual stand Dineh Elders have taken. Anyone who is willing to risk arrest must have witnesses and a solid support system. Document what you do.

WE NEED TEN MILLION GANDHIS, TEN MILLION JUDI BARIS, TEN MILLION EMILIANO ZAPATASI AND WE NEED YOU NOW!!!!

Support groups for the Dineh Resisters are being revived across the country. Hook in with them in your communities or form one yourself. Please contact one of the following before attempting any action to become more informed:

Sovereign Dineh Nation - Dineh Alliance: (505) 371 5551
P.O. Box 2889,
Window Rock, AZ 86515

Media Island International
(360) 352 8526 (v&f): mii@olywa.net
P.O. Box 7204, Olympia, WA 98507

◆

Though force was not used to remove them, a policy of slow motion, low intensity warfare was enacted using fighter jets, Hughes Apache helicopters, BIA livestock impoundment crews, tool and firewood confiscation and other means of torturing Dineh resister families.

WOULDN'T YOU PLEASE COME TO TACOMA

MARCH AND RALLY

FOR JUSTICE FOR LEONARD PELTIER

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FEBRUARY 6, 1997 (THURSDAY)

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JOAN STAPLES
DAVID EAGLE HORSE
ARTHUR J. MILLER
JUAN JOSE BOCANEGRA
DON ALEXANDER
LAUREN TOZZI
GREG JACKSON
MICHAEL LEE
AMELIA BROWN

MUSICIANS:

JIM PAGE
CLAYTON ERNEST LONGACRE
SEA RAVEN

SEATTLE CARPOOL/CARAVAN

Will met at the parking lot on the south side of Madison, at the corner of 24th st., at 2:45pm, Thursday, Feb. 6th. There is a need for people with cars or vans. If you can pick people up, or if you need a ride there, or for more information, please call: SEATTLE LPSG 325-2952.

4:00 P.M. MARCH FOR JUSTICE WILL LEAVE FROM FIREMAN'S PARK (7TH & PACIFIC, DOWNTOWN)
5:00 P.M. RALLY FOR JUSTICE WILL BE HELD AT THE UNITED STATES FEDERAL COURTHOUSE (1717 PACIFIC)

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David Barsamian on Media and Corporate Power

The institute for Alternative Journalism has recently named David Barsamian as one of the "Top Ten Media Heroes of 1994." He is the founder and director since 1978 of "Alternative Radio", a radio program of perspectives and analyses critical of the American mainstream. He has four books of interviews and other work to his name, including most recently Keeping the Rabble in Line. Mediatribe recently had the chance to speak to him this February 7th between a lecture and media workshop he gave at McGill University on "Media and Corporate Power". This event was sponsored by Montreal community station CKUT, the McGill Daily, and the Concordia Communication Studies Guild.

Is there an attitude of cynicism in the media? Is that a problem?

For most people it's a job. I mean, they're trained to do journalism. They could be trained to sell cars. Certainly one of the big inducements is access to power. Being privy to the high and mighty - this is very seductive. You're not just a journalist reporting a story, but you're the conduit though which power is conveying what it wants to the larger audience - the masses, the readership or the listeners.

So that can be very heady stuff.

I never interview people in power, I feel they have nothing to say of value. People ask me that in the States; why don't you interview Henry Kissinger? There are five million interviews with Henry Kissinger. Let me interview Maude Barlow, of the Council of Canadians, or David Orchard, or someone like that, and get a different perspective on things.

Don't you feel journalists can ask challenging questions of people in power?

They can ask challenging questions about specific policies. 'Why, Mr Secretary, when you were in Djakarta, 1975, why did you and President Ford approve of the Indonesian attack on East Timor?' There's a question of policy. The questions that are never asked are the basic assumptions of power and privilege - 'How do you legitimate what you're doing?'.

Noam Chomsky has talked about that tiny window in the media through which nothing deviant from the mainstream can be broadcast. It can be broadcast but it makes no sense. Since there's no context to it, it sounds very esoteric and bizarre. For example, if I were to say, that Canada, during the war in Indochina, when almost four million people were killed during the 1960s and 1970s, Canada was the largest per capita war profiteer during that period. I would have to give some context, otherwise it would just - pfft! - fly right over peoples' ears.

Do you feel you can give that context on Alternative Radio?

Yeah, I think an hour allows for meaningful discussion. The detail that's required can be developed, or the context and historical background. So things are not taken in episodic segments, but rather are part of a larger quilt. Then people can understand how the world works, and why it works in certain ways.

Is that demanding too much of people?

It requires attention. And in a culture where attention is a commodity that can be bought and sold and packaged, people are reduced to listening for very short periods. And it's a talent that we need to recover. Because unless we have a larger picture, we won't really understand what's going on.

The major networks seem to believe that all we have the attention span for is the OJ Simpson trial. That serves a different function, to distract and divert people so they can watch the latest sex trial, or rape, or incest, or whatever. That's infotainment. But it's very patronizing, because what they're saying is that people like you lack the intelligence to hear something of length.

You've described the American media landscape as being more grotesque than satire. Could you explain that?

The grotesqueness is in the propaganda. The propaganda is that the media is controlled by people like me, that there's a left-liberal cabal that's controlling the media, and that the media need to be more balanced. Now anyone who has a cursory knowledge of who the media are in the United States would collapse in paroxysms of laughter at this. But the U.S. is such an ideologically controlled country that people actually take this as a serious critique. And then discuss it!. 'Well they're not that left, there's William Buckley, for example.' There's such a stranglehold of right-wing ideology on the media, but the propaganda is just the opposite, and it's very hard to convince people that the media are in fact large corporations, whose interest in not just in promoting ideology but in making money. They're often parts of other large corporations. Like GE just doesn't own NBC, it also makes nuclear reactors. Electric power plants, toasters, radios. And these are part of even larger multinational conglomerates.

But most people in the media believe they're more able to think and act independently than the average person. Well, that's one of the great myths of the culture. By the time you become a journalist at the Globe and Mail, for example, you have gone through a whole series of indoctrinations. That's what education is about. Education is not just about learning to speak english, but it's about internalizing the values of the society. And as a student one learns very quickly what 'works' - and what doesn't 'work'. If you want to do something entirely different and be like Peter Wyntonyck and Mark Achbar and make a radical film about Noam Chomsky, then you make another decision about where you want to go. But by the time you get to be a journalist at the Globe and Mail, you actually believe the propaganda - your own propaganda - that you're independent and nobody tells you what to do. That's right; no one has to tell you what to do because you know what to do. Your editor doesn't tell you 'hey, if you do this you're fired'. It rarely gets to that point. Instead, there's an ambience in the room of shared ideology when there's a conference of the editors and journalists that's just a given. For example, it's just a given in Canada that too many people are exploiting the social welfare system, and that's why Canada is becoming a poorer country. It's not because Canada's major corporations are relocating in Third World countries, or even the southern part of the US for that matter!

There's a thesis that corporate media will eventually come around to addressing the concerns of marginalized groups since it's in their profitable interest. What do you think of this?

They'll only address those concerns if they can turn a profit on it. Their main concern is about making money, not addressing issues. If they can be convinced that the gay and lesbian community can provide huge advertising dollar, which is what they're all about, then sure, you'll get lots of coverage. The thing about the media is that they're totally hypocritical and opportunistic. But if it's something that's going to challenge their power and privilege then it's going to get a spin that's very very negative. Gays are out of control, are demanding too much, or will take away the rights of other people if they're given rights.

Why is there all this attention to crime? Street crime is a problem in the United States. Street crime in the United states last year was reported to be somewhere around half a billion dollars. But corporate crime is in the hundreds of billions - stock options, transfers. How do you measure that? But these other types of crimes are never discussed at all, because then you'd learn the wrong lessons. The right lessons are that people of color are out of control, especially blacks, that they're criminal genetically. And that we have to build more prisons, hire more cops. You stigmatize the most vulnerable sectors of the population - the poor, who have no media, who cannot articulate their concerns or desires and interests.

Totalitarian?

Corporations are structurally totalitarian institutions. People don't know why decisions are made, none of the records are made public, meetings are in secret, all documents are classified. It's not like government committees for example, or Parliament, they have to publish reports of their deliberations.

What's the record of the Seagram Corporations' inner council? Does anyone know? Why did Seagram's last year acquire 15% of Time-Warner stock, one of the largest multimedia corporations in the world? What's their agenda? It's not just alcohol.

Corporate power is very secretive. For good reason. If people knew what they were doing - if Canadians knew that corporate managers were planning on moving their jobs to Mexico - they might not like that.

Do you have any advice for people like students who are just entering the media, on not becoming, as you call them, "corporate flacks and lackeys"?

You know the slogan about think globally, act locally. I'm a big proponent of that. Although first I acted locally and then I went globally! What can you do in your community? What makes sense in your neighborhood? How can you organize around certain issues? Whether it's a school board issue, or a transportation issue, something that connects with other people.

I think people are feeling, very much, in the so-called developed societies, is this atomization, this incredible separation.

And not trying to reach hundreds of thousands of people at once. Start with your neighbor. Most people don't know who their neighbor is. That's a very shocking situation. And there might be more concern in Canada for East Timor, as there should be, but there also should be concern for what's happening in Saskatchewan and Alberta.

So being national, being international, but also being local, finding something that's appropriate for your talent, finding something that is appropriate for your interest. And it takes courage, it takes dedication. But I think the rewards are substantial — not financial rewards, but the emotional rewards in finding something that's meaningful. ◆

Corporate power is very secretive. For good reason. If people knew what they were doing - if Canadians knew that corporate managers were planning on moving their jobs to Mexico - they might not like that.

David BARSAMIAN

alternative radio producer, journalist, author and lecturer

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Get the Job Done Right

How to Avoid Non-Union Contractors

Dave Zink

I think I've found a way to beat the high cost of those home improvement projects that are beyond my (admittedly meager!) abilities in carpentry. It all started at the Labor Day celebration at Sylvester Park, where John Smith, a member-activist of the Residential Trades Union Local 360 spoke about the need for building stronger interrelationships and feeling of community within the working class. In a time when capitalist greed is intensifying, we need to develop new tactics in our common struggle, based upon working-class solidarity.

Nowadays, when they have a remodeling or addition project too big to do themselves, people typically just call up a contractor, and pay them to get the job done. The problem? Too many of these are "paper" contractors, who essentially provide no services, but merely sub-contract out all or most of the job - often to non-union, under-trained, and underpaid workers. Unlike California and a few other states who have a licensing board, the Washington State Department of Labor and Industries doesn't test applicants' knowledge and competence nor document experience. Washington State simply takes the fee from anybody, gives them a registration number, then turns them loose on the community, qualified or not !

Homeowners can act as the general contractor on their own property. They can hire workers directly, pay them a decent wage, benefits, etc. By doing the contracting yourself, you keep the profit. So, how do you do this ? The old-fashioned and time-honored way. Go directly to the carpenter, plumber, mason, or other skilled worker through their own organizations: their union. These words had a ring of truth to them. From previous experience, I've learned that the usual route of going through a contractor was very expensive.

The job: get a roof up over the back patio. In the course of collecting the materials and the 3 days it took to do the work, I learned a few things about what skilled labor is going through these days.

Background of the problem:

There has been an ongoing struggle between contractors and skilled labor for some time. In the 1950's, unions were fairly strong. But in the mid-70's, things started to change. Contractors refused to reach an agreement with carpenters on wages for residential work. Instead of paying by the hour, they started to offer piece work, paying by the job. At first, they offered attractive piecework rates. But, as time went on, piece rates declined, and they're still in free-fall.

Reagan's union-busting tactics also had an impact. His treatment of the Air Traffic Controllers, when he broke their strike, was taken by capital as a precedent, a green light for anti-worker, and anti-union actions across the country. Many "down-sized", laid-off workers were desperate. Unemployment is hell on working-family values, and a lot of marriages fell apart.

For about 20 years now, the majority of homes have been built by non-union carpenters. The results are obvious. The level of quality has plunged. Contractors used to supply all necessary tools, but over the years this changed. Non-union carpenters must buy their own now. A contractor will typically charge you $35 to $45. or more per hour for the labor in a residential construction or remodeling project. But that contractor often pays the journeyman (somebody that's graduated her/his apprenticeship and is fully qualified) carpenter only about $9 - $12, or less per hour. The decline in wages, benefits, and working conditions has compelled carpenters to re-organize, into local 360.

For about 20 years now, the majority of homes have been built by non-union carpenters. The results are obvious. The level of quality has plunged.

According to Smith, "We're approaching a crisis in this country. Skilled workers - carpenters among them - are so beaten down that they're just not making it economically. Too many contractors just get their license, then prey on desperate, unemployed skilled laborers. When they take advantage of workers like that, it diminishes pride in craft. They don't pay enough to hold people. South Puget Sound Community College used to offer many trades courses. Now they don't - not too many love carpentry enough to go into it if they see this kind of dismal future! We should honor and respect skill, not discourage it. The pool of skilled carpenters is drying up because they can't make a decent living. This is leaving the residential trades with increasing numbers of low-skilled, low-paid, temporary hands. When that happens, everybody loses.

"Republicans figure that if they keep unemployment levels high enough, some people will continue to go into these jobs. But beggaring your neighbor isn't good policy. Among other things, it will increase the crime rate. Not very enlightened policy. We need less crime, less charity, and more job opportunities that encourage development of a skilled workforce.

Too many workers, the greed of these "paper" contractors is getting downright obnoxious.

What's to be done?

So how can we tackle the problem? John, the carpenter sent out to help us, had some ideas. "Well, contractors can't lock us out. They can't ship home-repair jobs out of the country like they can "out-source" manufacturing jobs. They might try to hire somebody out of high school, or the pizza-delivery boy, but it won't work: doing the job right, to the homeowner's satisfaction, requires well-rounded skill. That means apprenticeship and training. Increasingly, many in the rank and file of skilled labor own their own power tools and trucks. That goes for electricians, plumbers, and other trades in addition to carpenters. Many tradesmen and women already own the means of production. More homeowners and skilled workers need to realize this - just smarten up! - and organize to make worker's power and democracy a reality. We can do it, we are doing it.

"We won't need to strike. We simply don't have to accept certain jobs. We can just tell anti-union contractors "No thanks!". That's why its so important for more folks to deal directly with the union. Its not as if there's a lack of work or customers. The contractors have buffaloed tradespeople into thinking they can't get jobs without them, and they've conned homeowners into thinking they can't get a job done without going through contractors! The truth is that anti-union, "paper" contractors don't contribute much. Sure, complex large-industrial projects presently require the resources of a fully-qualified commercial contractor for coordination. But in some cases, especially for residential, the workers themselves, through their unions, can handle it. We can certainly meet or exceed the quality of work typical of "paper" contractors! All they do is add a layer of paperwork, skim profits off the top, and exploit their workers.

When and if workers decide to go toe-to-toe with these characters - ultimately, it will come to this - there's no doubt about the outcome. Without us and our skills, the contractor is nothing but a hollow shell, a market without produce. Like an onion, if you will: peel away the layers of an onion looking for a core and you'll discover that there isn't one. We, on the other hand, can and do complete projects without a contractor. Working with our hands, tools, and brains, we will prevail. The goal is to hold contractors to at least some basic, minimum standards. "

The South Puget Sound Residential Trades and Carpenters local 360 in Olympia is evolving into a full-service organization, with a computerized resume service to line up members with jobs. Direct-hire is just one of many side benefits. Members have the right to sign any out-of-work list maintained by a UBC (United Brotherhood of Carpenters & Joiners) union local in Washington, Oregon, and Idaho, and membership is transferable to other locals. Wages are paid promptly, workers have access to a health & welfare trust fund, a vacation trust fund, and skills improvement classes. The leadership is experienced in worker's compensation and disability claim procedures and is there for members who need help. At monthly meetings, members share tips on where the job market is hot, which contractors are slow to pay workers, and other essential information.

John said this is an example of a "new unionism" that is starting to take shape. New Unionism is not only about helping you find a job, but also about improving your education, raising your skill level, and empowering you as an all-around individual. Younger carpenters are becoming skilled with computers. 21st Century unions are going to be "more streamlined, smarter, quicker." Contrary to the line of baloney fed to us by the corporate media, unions aren't irrelevant. All working people need to get organized, now more than ever. If we can't hang together, we will surely hang separately !

John, as a regular member, not an officer, of the union, is not authorized to speak on behalf of the brotherhood. The official view is more modest and conservative. As long as the majority of building contractors refuse to pay union scale, members can work directly for a homeowner. Many union contractors strongly object to the direct-hire tactic, but accept it until the industry gets re-organized and an agreement promoting and honoring fair labor standards is reached.

If a homeowner contacts the union and specifically asks to hire a carpenter by the hour, the union will refer her to someone from their "out of work" list. If you call the union asking about who to hire for a new or remodel project, the union will send you a list of licensed and bonded union contractors to choose from.

Residential Trades local 360 is focused on communication, educating the public about the role of contractors and unions, and organizing carpenters to improve the standards of the trade. Specifically, the union is seeking an area-wide collective bargaining agreement with building contractors which will implement decent terms of employment, coverage by insurance, medical and pension plans, enforcement of state and federal occupational safety standards, formal apprenticeship and journeyman training, and respect from employers. Another interesting thing I learned is that contractors operate on a percentage. On average, 1/3 of the money you pay a contractor goes to labor costs, 1/3 to materials and tools, and a full third goes to the contractor's overhead, cushion against unforeseen increases in material cost, and profit. By dealing directly with the union, you can save about 33% of the cost of a project and better ensure that workers get a fair deal.

For many, direct-hire is a good option. For others, it may not be. Remember: when you act as your own contractor, there will be no contractor to complain to if something isn't right. You are responsible for the success of the project. You must have a good idea of what you want, what is or is not acceptable, and be ready to supervise (or even fire) as necessary. Try it next time! Boycott "paper" contractors. Make certain that the workers you hire are union members. Help skilled workers reach a fair agreement, and restore quality. ◆

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QUEER BRIEFS

HATE CRIMES FACT SHEET

(1) Show assaults are on the rise

The number of hate crimes against lesbian and gay Americans is rising.

* physical assaults/objects thrown are up 12 percent from 1993 to 1994 * police verbal/physical abuse is up 25 percent from 1993 to 1994 * sexual assaults are up 47 percent from 1993 to 1994

*Nine cites reported 4,195 anti-gay and lesbian offences in 1994.

The count from Boston, Chicago, Columbus, Denver, Detroit, Minnesota/St. Paul, New York, Portland and San Francisco included:

* 22 murders * 841 cases of physical assault/objects thrown * 81 incidents of sexual assault * 1,863 reports of harassment * 634 instances of threats of menacing * 238 instances of police verbal/physical abuse

*The attacks are particularly violent.

Nationally, 43 percent of the incidents involved physical assaults. The level of injury to victims was extremely high:

* 62 percent of these victims were injured

* 35 percent required outpatient medical treatment or hospitalization

* 3 percent resulted in death

1 Anti-Gay/Lesbian Violence in 1994: National Trends, Analysis and Incident Summaries."data collection by New York City Gay and Lesbian Anti-Violence Project (March 1995)

TEEN SUICIDE FACT SHEET

Studies consistently show that a high percentage of gay and lesbian youth (25-30%) attempt suicide.

* In a study of 686 gay men, 337 heterosexual men, 293 lesbian women, and 140 heterosexual women - 35% of gay men and 38% of lesbian women considered suicide. 8% gay men and 23% lesbian women had attempted - compared to only 3% heterosexual men and 14% heterosexual women. The majority of the suicide attempts were before the age of 20, nearly 1/3 of all attempts were before age 17.[1]

* In a study of 5,000 gay men and women - 35% of gay men and 38% of gay women had seriously considered or attempted suicide.[2]

* In a study of 60 gay males ages 16-22, 32% had attempted suicide.[3]

* In a study of homeless youth entering a shelter, 65% of the gay youth had attempted suicide as compared to 19% of the heterosexual youth.[4]

* In a study of 137 gay and bisexual males, 41 had attempted suicide (31%). 18 made multiple attempts. The mean age of those attempting was 15.5 years old.[5]

Studies also show that gay and lesbian youth are at least 3 times more likely than heterosexual youth to attempt suicide.

* In a study on gay male and lesbian youth suicide, the U.S. Department of Health and Human Services found lesbian and gay youth are two to six times more likely to attempt suicide than other youth and account for up to 30 percent of all completed teen suicides.[6]

* In a study of 686 gay men, 337 heterosexual men, 293 lesbian women, and 140 heterosexual women, the gay men were 6 times more likely than the heterosexual men to attempt suicide and the lesbian women were 2 times more likely than heterosexual women to attempt.[7]

* In a study of homeless youth, gay and lesbian youth were 3.5 times more likely than heterosexual youth to attempt suicide.[8]

[1] Bell, A., and Weinberg, M. (1978). Homosexualities: A study of diversity among men and women. New York. Simon & Schuster.
[2] Jay, K., and Young, A. (1977). The Gay Report: Lesbian and gay men speak out about their sexual experiences and lifestyles. New York: Summit.
[3] Roesler, T., and Deisher, R. (1972, Feb. 21). Youthful man homosexuality. Journal of the American Medical Association, 1018-1023.
[4] Larkin St. Youth Center (1984). Client Statistics. San Francisco.
[5] Remafedi, G., Farrow, J.A., and Deisher, R.W. (1991). Risk factors for attempted suicide in gay and bisexual youth. Pediatrics, 87.
[6] Gibson, P. Gay Male and Lesbian Youth Sucide, Report of the Secretary's Task Force on Youth Suicide, U.S. Department of Health and Human Services, 1989.
[7] Bell, A. And Weinberg, M. (1978). Homosexualities: A study of diversity among men and women. New York. Simon & Schuster.
[8] Larkin St. Youth Center (1984). Client Statistics. San Francisco.

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Bill's Story Continues to Garner Much Interest and Visits On-line

Gabi Clayton's on-line tribute to her son Bill continues to draw visitors from around the world. "Portrait of a Son's Suicide: Bill's Story" tells of a young man full of love and promise who could not bear the emotional pain caused by two traumas in his life, including a hate assault at Capital High School. Bill's Story should give pause to those who continue to espouse hate in the name of love, condemnation in the name of righteousness, and bigotry in the name of redemption. (To read Bill's Story go to http://members.tripod.com/~claytoly/Bills_Story). The site visits have increased 10 fold since January.

On His Last Day, Governor Mike Lowry Calls on all School Superintendents to Protect Gay, Lesbian and Bi Youth

Ex-Governor Mike Lowry (D-WA) sent out a letter to all Superintendents in public schools throughout the State of Washington on his last day in office, January 14, 1997. In it he says: "I want to ask that you take special care to ensure the needs of all our young people are being met, including Gay, Lesbian and Bisexual students."

Lowry goes on to quote the report of the Safe Schools Coalition (available on line at http://members.tripod.com/~claytoly/safe). Lowry states that the report "cause concern for all of us who are responsible for the health, physical safety and acadenic success of our youth in schools." He then calls on all school districts to "adopt and aggressively enforce school policies that explicitly forbid discrimination and harassment based upon the perceived or actual sexual orientation of students, family members or school staff."

Gay and lesbian associations lead a global boycott to protest revised Romanian penal code

Brussels, Belgium - 23 January 1997 - The International Lesbian and Gay Association (ILGA), headquartered in Brussels, has called for an immediate boycott of Romanian wine exports.

The boycott is in protest of Article 200 of the Romanian penal code. The Article maintains criminal status for homosexual acts and bans gay bars, clubs, associations, media and organizations. The vote by Romania's parliament breaks a 1993 promise to decriminalize homosexuality and is a violation of the European Convention on Human Rights. The law condemns Romania's gay and lesbian citizens to continuing state persecution and jail sentences of up to five years.

The law threatens any same-sex relationships that cause a "public scandal" with penalties of up to five years in jail. A "public scandal" is simply anything two or more people find offensive. This broad legal definition is an obvious attempt to portray the revision of the law as a "decriminalization" of homosexuality while retaining criminal sanctions for private, consensual same-sex relations.

"ILGA and its members cannot tolerate a government flagrantly violating not only human rights, but also the promises made to the European Community," said ILGA Coordinator Lawrence Aronovitch. "Europe has decided that its gay and lesbian citizens deserve equality and non-discrimination. It is unconscionable that Romania would take this action and expect the world to sit by quietly."

Romanian wine is the country's most visible consumer export, with total annual sales of 25 million liters. Ziad Dajani, who is coordinating the boycott, has said that one company, Vinexport, has been specifically targeted because "they are in a unique position to represent to the government the impact of international outrage at the country's treatment of gays, lesbians and bisexuals." Vinexport accounts for 80 percent of all wine exports from Romania. Washington State House Proceeding With Anti-Gay Marriage Bill

HB 1130 entitled "Reaffirming and protecting the Institution of Marriage," is proceeding in the Washington State legislature Supporters of equal rights to civil marriage for Gays and Lesbians are urged to call the Washington State Legislative Hotline at 1-800-562-6000 and state your opposition to HB 1130.

Gay Youth Caught in Snare Net

As the free speech on the Internet debate continues, more and more Internet "filtering" (i.e. censoring) software is being manufactured, putting young gay, lesbian, bisexual and transgender people in jeopardy. CyberSitter searches for "keywords" such as "gay," "lesbian," and "homosexual" and blocks all related Web sites, blatantly discriminating against gay men and lesbians. The software is designed to give greater parental control over what children might view on the Internet. However, CyberSitter and NetNanny also possess an auditing feature that makes surfing the Net extremely dangerous for gay youth who have turned to the Internet for information. This feature allows parents to check what sites their children try to access in their absence. While this may sound fairly harmless, this kind of digital paper trail can lead to the accidental disclosure of a young person's sexual orientation before she or he is ready, potentially causing tension and isolation within a family.

Please write these companies and let them know that if their mission is to help protect children, they are doing a lousy job at protecting gay, lesbian, bisexual and transgender youth.

Contact: CyberSitter, c/o Solid Oak Software, Inc., P.O. Box 6826, Santa Barbara, CA 93160, fax: 805.967.1614, e-mail: info@solidoak.com; NetNanny, 770-666 Burrard Street, Vancouver, BC V6C2X8 Canada, fax: 604.683.9294, e-mail: netnanny@netnanny.com
sources this month include: Glaad (Gay and Lesbian Alliance Against Defamation), Gabi Clayton, Governor Mike Lowry, Safe Schools Coalition, ILGA (the International Lesbian and Gay Organization), among others. ◆

On-line Resources

Ex.Ex! is a new site billed "the Online Resource for those seeking honest information about the ex-gay movement in America." It includes information about groups such as Exodus International, Desert Stream Ministries, & Homosexuals Anonymous, personal stories of gays, lesbians, & bisexuals that have participated in the ex-gay movement only to realize that their sexual orientation is something to be accepted instead of rejected and links to other resources on the subject of homosexuality, coming out, and spirituality and sexuality. The url is: http://members.aol.com/exexgay/index.html

New On-line Discussion List for Queers in the Workplace

glbt-workplace is a general discussion list on any topic which is in some way related to both GLBTs and the workplace. To subscribe, send email to Majordomo@QueerNet.ORG, with the body containing: subscribe glbt-workplace your-email-address

A Works In Progress Survey

Progressive Alternative Press' Beginnings and Struggles on the West Coast

Sylvia Smith and Teresa Jennings

During the fall of 1995 through the spring of 1996, Works In Progress conducted a survey of progressive alternative press on the West Coast: British Columbia to California. In all, 93 survey packets were sent to potential participants. In total, 32 questionnaires were returned. Twelve surveys were returned by the Postal Service indicating they are possibly no longer publishing.

The purpose of the survey was threefold. It was to form the basis of an article, this article, to be shared with all participants, examining the progressive press operating on the West Coast: their commonalities and differences. Second, in order to encourage and nurture the beginnings of new presses, the survey would support the development of a manual, for individuals and organizations, describing what has worked and what pitfalls have been experienced. The remaining purpose is possibly the greatest in importance, the beginning of a conversation between West Coast progressive alternative press.

What follows is a discussion which gives a flavor and suggests a sample personality of the progressive alternative press on the West Coast. We were not able to reach all presses due to limited resources. We invite others to continue the work and offer our continued support of this effort.

Natural divisions

When examining the survey questionnaires, it was discovered that the presses had natural divisions separated by focus: environment, civil rights, and multiple issues. *Works In Progress* is an example of a multi-issue focused press, covering the environment, civil rights and class-based issues. Each group showed common tendencies in how they described their purposes and functions in publishing, whether they had parent organizations, methods of collecting money, and incidence of harassment. Overall, all presses showed similarities in age, primary purpose, initial skills, and problems in publishing.

The average age of all presses at the time of the survey, excluding the 86 years of the *Industrial Worker*, was 7.5 years. The environment and multi-focus groups both averaged around 8 and 8.9 years, whereas the civil rights group average only 6.5 years. Another noticeable difference was the likelihood of an environment press to have a parent organization: 86% compared to 46% and 50% of the civil rights and multi-focus. They were also more likely to have paid staff that contribute articles: 71% compared to 31% and 36%. The multi-focus and civil rights were similar at 91% and 85% in presses indicating unpaid staff participating in submitting articles, with environment at 57%.

All three groups reported their primary intent is to inform (civil rights, 69%; multiple focus, 67%; environmental, 100%): "to educate the public on the plight of grizzly bears in B.C...." (*Grizzly Times*), "about Indian issues..." (*On Indian Land*), "controversial issues" (*Sonoma Country Free Press*). The environment had a greater tendency (57%) to mention a desire to reach out to members of their organizations and the public, "to reach out to new audiences." (*Bear Essential*) Interestingly, the civil rights group often described their papers as empowering (54%): "Our goal is to empower prisoners", to "enable workers to communicate with each other" (*Industrial Worker*), to promote inter-racial and international solidarity." (*Turning the Tide*)

Determined from the numbers provided by all 32 questionnaires, 447 people participate with these presses. Excluding the amazing number of 80 staff that work on *The Bear Essential*, the staff size of environmental press range from 1 to 11 and averages at five. The civil rights papers averages at 10.7 and the multiple focus papers at 16.5. Only a single paper of all 32 has only one staff person, *Bay City Slug*. It's no wonder he listed as a publication problem "self-doubt—you know, like, is there anybody out there?"

Decision to publish

When asked what sparked the decision to begin publishing, often the respondents (primarily civil rights, 92%) wrote of an absence of an alternative voice. "We got tired of poor Black people being underrepresented both in the mainstream and the Black-owned press." (*Black Autonomy*) The "absence of any grassroots voice for anti-racist activism in L.A." (*Turning the Tide*) "The lack of a voice for the Latino community in Santa Cruz County." (*El Andar*) "...the OCA was moving into Clark County from Portland, Oregon. At the time southwest Washington had no alternative press." (*Vancouver Voice*) "White lesbian and gay press did not cover black issues thoroughly enough." (*BLK*) "No other publications were representing the interests of progressive prisoners." (*Prison Legal News*)

Of the three groups, the civil rights reported experiencing considerably more harassment (82% compared to environment's 29% and multiple focus 45%) and more harassment that was threatening.

Presses also spoke of need. The "need for a forum to bring diverse Left voices into dialogue." (*Cross Roads*) "The need for Pacific American Community based news." (*Hale Pai*) "The need to tell the truth about what's happening to our forests." (*Western Canada Wilderness Committee Report*) "...a need to counter the lies of the boss press." (*Industrial Worker*) And it was stated or implied by phrases and words such as "to raise awareness" "inform", "educate", and promote, that they "recognized the power of a newspaper to transmit practical and political information." (*Street Sheet*) "To raise awareness" (*La Voz*), "committed to dialogue as a necessary force for progressive social change." (*Sonoma County Free Press*) To help build solidarity for ongoing struggles..." (*Bayou La Rose*)

New Mission News' blunt mission statement contains the simple phrase, "Comforting the afflicted and afflicting the comfortable."

A small group of presses (16%) actually began as newsletter serving their parent organizations that eventually expanded to a larger role of serving their communities and more. Humanists of Washington turned their internal newsletter, *Secular Humanist Press*, into "an outreach and educational tool." The Lesbian Resource Center newsletter grew into "a monthly newspaper for the lesbian community," *LRC Community News*. *In Good Tilth* newsletter expanded to "improving public awareness of organics." World Rainforest Report continues as the *Rainforest Action Network's* newsletter, dispensing information to 30,000 members worldwide.

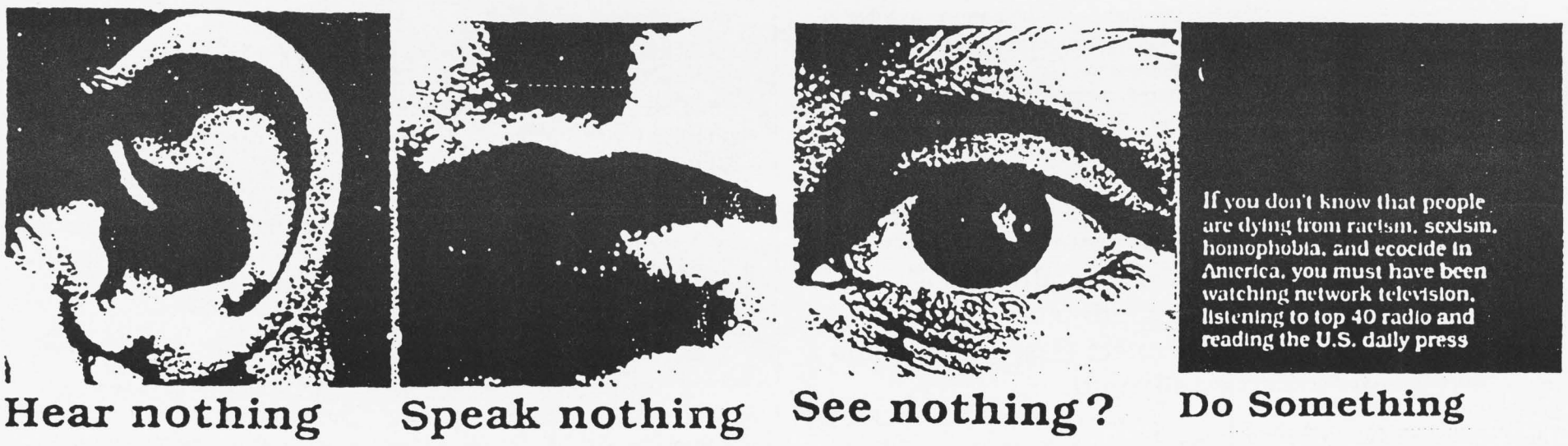
Starting up

"None. All of it was borrowed equipment or using other people's gear" (*Black Autonomy*) was typical of the comments received from presses regarding their resources at the time of startup. "Virtually none—a shoestring operation" (*Turning the Tide*) "At the beginning, not many! Just dues, which, at the time were absurdly low." (*Secular Humanist Press*) "None, except for people wanting to publish a community newspaper." Overtime, each press streamlined and improved their process, gained better equipment, became more knowledgeable, developed skills, and became a genuine force in their communities, and for some nationally and internationally.

Two-thirds of all presses reported having someone on board in their initial issue who had some experience either in publishing, newsletter, graphics or sales. The largest number of presses with previous experience in publishing were the civil rights and multiple focus. The environment presses generally had individuals with journalism/writing skills.

A little over 50% of the environmental and multiple focus presses mentioned having access to personal computers and other equipment, whereas the civil rights presses seemed to have more limited access, a little under one-third. *Street Sheet* mentioned having a "friend in a xerox store."

Though not all presses responding


If you don't know that people are dying from racism, sexism, homophobia, and ecocide in America, you must have been watching network television, listening to top 40 radio and reading the U.S. daily press
Hear nothing
Speak nothing
See nothing?
Do Something

mentioned access to start up monies, it is assumed that all had some funds, either personal or collective. Those that did mention start up funds, ranged from $100 at the low end (*Prison Legal News*) to $40,000 at the high end (*Cross Roads*). It is also assumed that presses with parent organization received financial support, at least initially such as *XTRA! West* which received financial support from its head office. Generally speaking though, it seems that most presses began with out-of-pocket financing. *Works In Progress*, for example, stated that they financed their first issue with "members willing to front money," and the *Washington Free Press* relied on "$300-400 per person donation."

Funding

The three press groups differed in the means of funding. The multiple focus papers almost all sold advertising whereas approximately half of the others did so. Most of the civil rights and multiple focus provide subscriptions and all presses accept donations. Only the environmental press had a high percentage of funding from grants and dues.

Overall success in funding may be demonstrated by whether a press has paid staff. An astounding 71% of the environment press had indicated that they had some paid staff compared to the 31% and 36% for civil rights and multiple-focus papers. The degree of harassment correlates negatively with fundraising. 29% of the environment press experience harassment compared to 77% of the civil right and 45% of the multiple focus. Taking more controversial positions around civil rights issues, clearly cause a press to have much more difficulty in raising operating funds.

Harassment

Fifty-three percent (17) of papers reported harassment based in bigotry or retaliation. Presses told of various distribution barriers, vandalism, legal threats, hate talk and violence: ranging from destruction of papers and newspaper boxes to assassination. Primarily, they mentioned distribution barriers. *The Industrial Worker* wrote, however, that "some [of our] writers have been victims of attempted and actual assassinations throughout our history."

Of distribution barriers, La Voz reported that "due to opposing views of the wars in Central America in the 1980s (especially during the Reagan era), papers were frequently destroyed or taken and thrown, distribution box was stolen." Other papers reported government and business refusal to allow their publications to be displayed. *XTRA! West*, a Canadian national press, was temporarily banned from a library in the "bible belt" and *La Voz* wrote of not being "able to maintain a space on the newsletter rack in the Victoria library due to protest from some public."

Black Autonomy and *Prison Legal News* tell of interference of prison officials. "Some prisons claim our paper is 'racist' and send it back. We've filed suit against the Washington Department of Corrections over this; they refuse to let Blacks (and white subscribers) get it, but allow neo-nazis on the inside to get theirs under 'religious freedom'. Hmm..." (*Black Autonomy*) There is "persecution by prison officials: retaliation, harassment, censorship, etc. Lots and lots of barriers! They occur on a monthly basis!" (*PLN*)

LRC Community News had a printer refuse to "print an issue because of some moderately explicit photos, despite the fact that they had printed non-lesbian sexually explicit material for other clients."

Five papers mentioned receiving legal threats. One environmental press wrote "we produced a paper about Mitsubishi/Al Pac in Alberta. They wanted to sue us, but we told the truth! They backed down." (*WCWC Educational Reports*) *New Mission News* quoted a slumlord, "Print that and I'll sue!" *WCWC Reports* also told of another environmental group that tried to bribe them when they didn't agree with *WCWC Educational Report's* more progressive stance. "They wanted to buy the papers, but we went ahead and published it anyway."

Of the three groups, the civil rights reported experiencing considerably more harassment (82% compared to environment's 29% and multi-focus 45%) and more harassment that was threatening. *Street Sheet* told of their "vendors being harassed by the public and police, and receiving "occasional hate mail." Vancouver Voice has received harassing phone calls. *Black Autonomy* and *Turning the Tide* have both been contacted by the ultra-hate groups in different manners. *Black Autonomy* received "a flyer from the KKK 'warning' [them] about the 'international Jewish conspiracy". *Turning the Tide* had more prolong contact. "We have been repeated targets of neo-nazi harassment and threats by phone, mail, as well as house visits, and later threats to the editor, who eventually moved with his family." Fortunately he is "still involved with the publication."

Chief problems

The number one answer of the majority of presses, when asked of major problems in producing their papers, answered, "MONEY!" (*Hale Pai*) "No money." (*On Indian Land*) "Money, money, money, in that order." (*Oregon PeaceWorker*) Presses wrote of how financial limitations affected their ability do research, restricted distribution, and contributes often to burnout, the

(Continued on page 18)

Encouraging Words for New Press

The following are responses by survey press to the question, "What words of encouragement or caution, would you have for anyone considering beginning a progressive alternative publicaton?"

"We need all the alternative voices we can get—real alternatives, not yuppie advertising supplements to mainstream rags—and it can be a fascinating and rewarding process."
News for a People's World

"Just start doing it. It will change your life! (for the better) If you are good, people *will* read what you have to say. You *can* make a difference. Keep shouting! Resist! Question authority, publish, publish, publish!"
Bay City Slug

"If you have a message that fills a need, people will support you. PLN is supported entirely by its readership. The poorest most oppressed sector of society. Don't be afraid to start small and grow." ***PLN***

"Get going—it's very rewarding, essential community building work that will help sustain (emotionally, spiritually and politically) the people involved in it." ***Turning the Tide***

"Get ad contracts, and plenty of them, before you publish issue one."
Vancouver Voice

"Don't underestimate how much work it will take. But do it anyway! Be aware that the more political you are, the less ad revenue you will have." ***Washington Free Press***

"Tell the truth, and investigate the truth. Have your background work done. Get good photos, pay a photographer to get good photos."
WCWC Educational Reports

"No matter how many people enjoy reading your publication, they may rarely let you know. If your papers are being picked up, if you see someone reading it in a coffee shop, if an advertiser seeks you out to place an ad, you are being read. Remember that every issue is a symbol of success. And most importantly, put out your publication on a consistent basis. It will become a tradition and people will come to anticipate its distribution." ***Works In Progress***

"Know your market/reader. Financial management." ***XTRA! West***

WARNING! "Get ready to work!"
Sonoma County Free Press

"Go for it! But be creative, different. Don't look like a "newsletter". Avoid strident rants, and unsubstantiated opinion. Be accessible to new audiences." ***The Bear Essential***

"Always remember why you're doing what you're doing. For us it's helping bring peace and justice in Central America and Mexico. Keep that in mind during good/bad times, squabbles etc. If you really believe in what the paper is doing and it is effective, it will last. Get some *stable, committed* people on staff; people who are likely to stay awhile, so the paper can get established over time." ***La Voz***

"Be sure you have a strong enough collective to be able to produce consistently-it's hard to build a loyal base if it's an irregular publication."
Cross Roads

Reach more people with fewer words rather than fewer people with more words. Let the grassroots be the owners. Run it democratically. Have a constitution to prevent a single person or narrow clique from taking over. Pay as you go. Be tolerant. Include humour. Stay off drugs (legal and illegal). Hold only non-smoking events. Have fun!"
Allies

"Don't get caught up in self-imposed rules. Don't question the need of your work, or if it is doing any good for doing something is always better than doing nothing." ***Bayou La Rose***

"Form no committees, make no concessions, keep a local focus, minimize national and international commentary and avoid fancy graphics and layout-simple/straight forward approach." ***Anderson Valley Advertiser***

"Don't deceive yourself as to the amount of time required."
Energy Outreach

"Having been involved in producing various independent papers including ARTEST (Youth, Arts and Issues circa 1990-1992) I encourage people to dedicate 10% of their time to training young women and men in printing production and D.T.P. Plus stay focused with your political views. There's enough mainstream/mass media crap-so those with the skills need to proudly promote a radical vision for social change."
Grizzly Times

"Have resources to support."
Hale Pai

"Building readers and contributors is a long-term process, requiring consistent work."
Industrial Worker

"Beware of burnout. Avoid it by not obsessing, and freaking out when other invariably do obsess. After start up, avoid burnout by not working yourself to death (even as you tell yourself you're not obsessing). And whatever else you do, you will not last unless you tend first and foremost to the interpersonal relationships between co-workers."
In Good Tilth

"Tell the truth, then take cover."
New Mission News

"It's very difficult financially. Examine the financial portion of your plan carefully for realistic assumptions. If journalistic standards are high, there will be no shortage of people wanting to write. Quality attracts quality."
Oregon PeaceWorker

"Credibility is vital. Establish credentials as a reliable resource. Be unimpeachably responsible in meeting deadlines. Pay close attention to clear, clean, readable and visually interesting layout—white space is nice. Find good clip art. Follow journalistic standards. Establish your own voice." ***Pathways***

"You can't please all the people all the time—if people criticize, too bad—they should do their own paper-just stick with it, have a vision to back you up—check it all the time."
Street Sheet

"To find the most modern technique to produce and distribute the publication, not to be afraid of making mistakes, and to head for a path of gradual and consistant development." ***El Andar***

"Build in redundancey both in terms of staff and equipment for when both let you down." ***BLK***

"It's a very tough 'market.' Assuming the desired publication doesn't have support and financing from a group or grant or..., it's close to impossible to turn the alternative press into a profit-making venture—even in Seattle, one of the best places in the country to be an activist."
Secular Humanist Press

"It's ... a lot of work! And be sure you have a collective of people with enough unity and commitment to all phases of the project, from distribution to writing, graphics/production." ***News for a People's World***

(Press Survey, continued)
number two answer. "We still don't pay enough to hold a staff; and printing and mailing costs continue to rise." (*Oregon PeaceWorker*) *The Grizzly Times* answered, "we do the work and feel sad that we haven't the cash to show more people the printed work that we're creating." Yet "despite financial and human resource obstacles," writes La Voz, "the paper has been in print for 10+ years now because we believe it is vital to the Victoria community to be aware of what's going on in Central America."

Another problem often mentioned were difficulties involving the internal functioning of organizations. "The challenges of putting something together that reflects anti-racist politics editorially and organizationally," and "the difficulties of stabilizing a volunteer collective" (*News for a People's World*) More than one press mentioned

The number one answer of the majority of presses, when asked of major problems in producing their papers, answered, "MONEY!" (Hale Pai) "No money." (On Indian Land) "Money, money, money, in that order." (Oregon PeaceWorker)

how "too much rested on the shoulders of one person" (*In Good Tilth*), and meeting deadlines, staff turnover, and flakes." (*New Mission News*)

But then there is the *Bayou La Rose*. The only problem listed was "getting up in the morning." He goes on to say, "There are no real problems, there are no meetings, deadlines or any other thing that would be a problem. It just happens when it needs to."

Goals

Among the three groups, increasing the size of circulation was the most mentioned future goal. This implies to us that the number one perceived problem, money, limits these survey respondents ability to reach their circulation potential. Other areas mentioned, that were also probably due to insufficient funds, were the need for increased pages, an improved look, and increased frequency of publication. Civil rights was the only one with significant numbers of papers indicating efforts towards building larger staffs.

However, all presses expressed desires beyond the solutions of problems caused by limited finances. Many restated the purpose of their papers' creations. *Black Autonomy* claimed the goal of becoming "a poor person's answer to *USA Today*." *Turning the Tide* wrote of serving "as a unifying voice for anti-racist activism locally and nationally." *WCWC Educational Reports* stated, "There are still a lot of [forests] areas to save, not only in B.C. but across Canada and in South American and the USA." And they spoke of an interest to "connect with other progressive publications" (*Works In Progress*). Oregon's *Bay City Slug* wants "to get several 'alternative' papers on the West Coast to go together and purchase hemp, tree-free paper to produce our respective papers on. I would be a real statement—a financial one and a political one."

Press Association

In addition to sharing information concerning their experiences, alternative newspaper respondents provided their views and concerns regarding the possibility of an alternative progressive press association. There was positive interest expressed by 22 presses with an additional five stating tentatively yes. Those most interested were from the civil rights press with 80% responding affirmatively.

The most common reasons for interest in an association revolved around collaboration. Ideas that were offered were: 1) sharing articles, information, graphics, photos, research; 2) cooperative distribution; 3) subscription exchanges; 4) group ad sales; and 5) joint projects and training. Suggestions about how these might happen include: 1) establishing a wire service; 2) sharing e-mail addresses; 3) quarterly meetings/conferences at different locations; 4) jointly owned printing presses; 5) writer bank, photographer list and article reprint system; 6) publication directory; and 7) membership fees.

Though there is far more anticipation of positive outcome in the creation of an alternative progressive press association, there were two main concerns expressed. The expenditure of time, energy and money were mentioned by at least one quarter of the respondents. Another significant number spoke to their concern about inclusion and the need to counteract overt and convert racist attitudes. Two Canadian papers related the existence of the Small Press Action Network (SPAN) in Vancouver, BC. *Grizzly Times* described it as "a healthy contact list of ± 40 publishers. Many print books, while many print indie zines/papers." (Our only known contact for SPAN is through Korky Day of *Allies*, 3622 Main Street, Vancouver, BC, Canada V5V 3N5. Telephone 604-877-1631)

Whether or not an association is created or an existing association expands, in general, there was a clear desire for comraderie among most presses. "I would love to talk shop with other people that do this work." (*News for a People's World*) "It's really rough sometimes when you think you are the only one out there." (*Bay City Slug*)

Conclusion

The alternative press exists in spite of meager resources, harassment, and burnout. This is due largely to the dedication of committed individuals to provide substance and depth on issues so often not covered, poorly characterized, or wrongly reported by the corporate press. In his article in *The Atlantic Monthly*, "Why Americans Hate the Media," James Fallows criticizes the mainstream press for "the limited curiosity that elite reporters display in their questions is also evident in the stories they write once they have received answers. They are interested mainly in pure politics and can be coerced into examining the substance of an issue only as a last resort. The subtle but sure result is a stream of daily messages that the real meaning of public life is the struggle of Bob Dole against Newt Gingrich against Bill Clinton, rather than our collective efforts to solve collective problems." Not so, for the alternative press who are not managing a profit maximizing bottom line. Perhaps, we shall never garner the big bucks, our gratification will be however to reach the goal of a better informed public that can know and do something collectively in response to today's problems.

The next steps for us must be to continue to help and encourage one another. Works In Progress *will be sending a list of contacts with their addresses and e-mails, if available, of those progressive alternative newspapers which responded to this article and who generously gave their thoughts and concerns for the development of other newspapers and communication links with other presses.* ◆

Environmental Press	Location	Estab.
Bay City Slug	Bay City, OR	1992
Bear Essential	Portland, OR	1993
Energy Outreach	Olympia, WA	1990
Grizzly Times	Nelson, BC	1992
In Good Tilth	Tuolotin, OR	1980
WCWC Educational Reports	Vancouver, BC	1984
World Rainforest Report	San Francisco, CA	1985
Civil Rights Press		
El Andar	Santa Cruz, CA	1989
Black Autonomy	Seattle, WA	1994
BLK	Los Angeles, CA	1988
Hale Pai	Tacoma, WA	1994
Industrial Worker	Ypsilanti, MI (formerly in CA)	1909
LRC Community News	Bellevue, WA	1977
On Indian Land	Seattle, WA	1991
Prison Legal News	Monroe, WA	1990
Street Sheet	San Francisco, CA	1989
Turning the Tide	Burbank, CA	1987
Vancouver Voice	Vancouver, WA	1992
La Voz	Victoria, BC	1985
XTRA! West	Vancouver, WA	1993
Multiple Focus Press		
Allies	Vancouver, B.C.	1992
Anderson Valley Advertiser	Booneville, CA	1984
Bayou La Rose	Tacoma, WA	1978
Cross Roads	Oakland, WA	1990
New Mission News	San Francisco, CA	1980
News for a People's World	San Francisco, CA	1992
Oregon PeaceWorker	Salem, OR	1988
Pathways	Seattle, WA	1991
Secular Humanist Press	Seattle, WA	1980
Sonoma Free Press	Occidental, CA	1987
Washington Free Press	Seattle, WA	1993
Works In Progress	Olympia, WA	1990

Make your impression

***Works In Progress* is in need of individuals with the following skills:**

Computer Layout
Cartoon Creation
Interviewing
Distribution
Graphic Art
Proofreading
Tape Transcription
Photography

This publication is a dialog challenging the corporate media while expanding the Progressive Society. The written word demands respect and, the development of materials published, establishes the identity and values of the contributor and deepens the philosophical understandings of the community. Contributing to the publication of *Works In Progress* is more than a commitment to "walk the talk", it's *a sense of accomplishment.*

(Police, continued)

accept it. They instructed me to try to cash it at the book store. The book store could not cash it.)

Informing them of the foregoing, I told them that I could pay the next day or at the end of the quarter. I pleaded with the officers that I was parked by the library to continue my studies and graduate. I promised that I would pay the tickets, but I had class at 5:30 and a significant amount of work to do between now and then.

The newly established "police" decided to proceed by putting the yellow car boot on my vehicle's left front tire. I argued that I needed my car to finish my school work. As McHenry moved to put the car boot on my vehicle, I moved in front of my tire to prevent my car from being impounded in place. I needed my vehicle in order to complete my school work by 5:30.

Huntsberry informed me that I would be "obstructing" if I did not move. I informed the officers that they were obstructing a registered student from completing his school work.

An "officer" (now an aggressor) reached for my arm; I retracted, and his hand left my arm. Huntsberry grabbed a handful of hair on the right side of my head. Savage then grabbed a handful of hair on the left side of my head. I was forced into a position where I was bent at the waist. I was temporarily maintained in this position, and then, after a number of attempts to kick my legs out, I was forced to the concrete on all fours.

And so it was that on 12/11/96, without reasonable warning and in a manner which interfered with the pursuit of my studies, I received a ticket for parking in an unmarked parking place and had a boot (along with the boot fee of $35) put on my tire. When I attempted to assert the unreasonableness of this action, I was forced to the ground with unnecessary and excessive force and incurred bodily harm. My vehicle - which was supposedly illegally parked - remained in its illegal position for 24 hours because of the boot. I was physically injured. I was two and one-half hours late to class. Members of our community? Safety involved? I doubt it.

My understanding from two years at The Evergreen State College had been that I must pay my parking tickets before I could either graduate or transfer schools and that the parking office would hold my credits until I paid my parking fees. This seems appropriate and collegial. I strongly believe that the college should not be utilizing the interventionary exercise of police powers (such as a "boot") against its own students.

When informing the officer of my understanding, they asserted that if the college tried to hold students credits, students would leave school without getting credit for all the work they did. I told them that I was not going to do that after two full years of school. Among the arguments made by the officers during this incident was that this was standard procedure for parking in a place like downtown Olympia. This comment should be of great concern for those members of the Evergreen community who believe in the preservation of the college.

It is my understanding that the public testimony before the Trustees last year was virtually unanimously against arming. If the "TESC Police" cannot show reasonable restraint and use excessive force in a matter such as this, how can we expect them to handle an incident concerning the use of weapons?!

My experience is that we now have a police force on campus which brings with it all of the unfortunate behaviors of a "professional" police force. Is this what the Evergreen community wants? We were better served by TESC Public Safety together with the Thurston County sheriff's office. It seems that we have given up our public safety, as well as the comfort of a collegial campus atmosphere, to bring an unnecessary and threatening police force to Evergreen. I request that the administration and Trustees reconsider their unilateral actions in this matter. I urge members of the community to take appropriate action to restore TESC Public Safety as our means of community protection.

The information that is this article has been notarized and is a legal document. It originally appeared in the Cooper Point Journal (1/23/97), with the support of EPIC, TESC Student Workers Organization, and other student groups. For more information, comments of support/discontent, similar complaints, or how to get involved in the on-going discussion and actions surrounding TESC Department of Police Services, please call 866-6000 x6098. ◆

Affidavit of Notice

- **Yuri Koslen, grievant**
- **Grievance of unnecessary & excessive use of force resulting in bodily injury.**
- **Department of Police Services, The Evergreen State College, defendant**

Yuri Koslen, being duly sworn, deposes and says:

1. I am a third year student at the Evergreen State College, located in Thurston County in the State of Washington;

2. The attached statement of Grievance (two pages) is true in all statements of fact contained therein;

3. The attached two (2) medical statements by 1.) Janet Partlow, PA-C, of the Student Health Center of the Evergreen State College; and, 2.) Carmela Courtney, LMP, BA, LM, are prima facie evidence of injury by the events described in said Grievance;

4. This grievance is to be scheduled for hearing through Mediation Services at the Evergreen State College;

5. WHEREFORE, I submit a claim for damages, including medical expenses and pain and suffering, and demand a full ongoing public review of the method and purposes by and for which a police force was established at Evergreen. This forum should include faculty, students, staff and trustees of the College. The return of the newly established "TESC Department of Police Services" to its prior position in law and within the community must be on the table for discussion.

Copies: Art Costantino, vice-president of student affairs; Jane Jervis, President, Evergreen State College; Helena Meyer-Knapp, Campus grievance officer; Thurston County Sheriff Gary Edwards; Gary Locke Governor, State of Washington.

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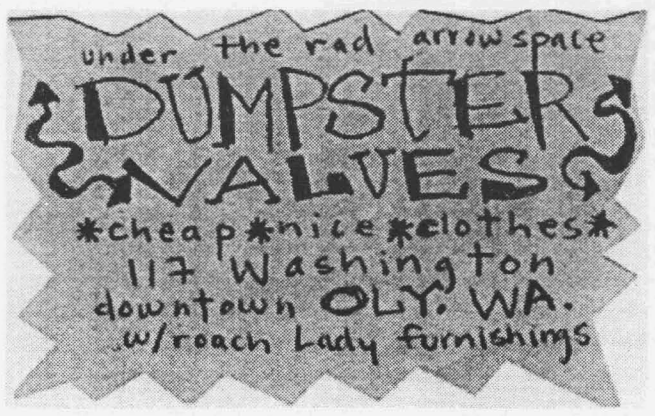

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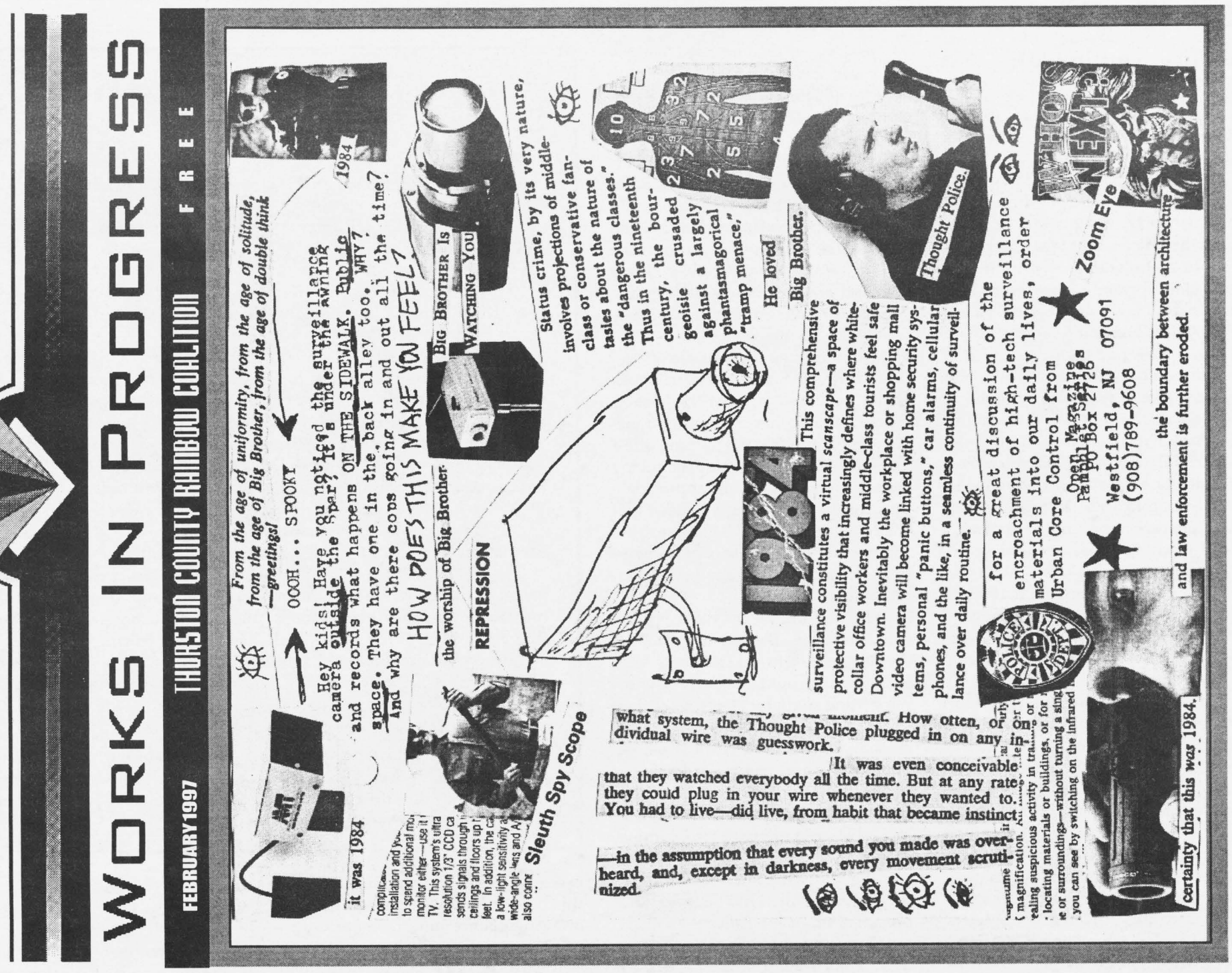
WORKS IN PROGRESS
FEBRUARY 1997
THURSTON COUNTY RAINBOW COALITION
FREE
1984
From the age of uniformity, from the age of solitude, from the age of Big Brother, from the age of double think —greetings!
OOOH... SPOOKY
Hey kids! Have you noticed the surveillance camera outside the Spar? It's under the awning and records what happens ON THE SIDEWALK. Public space. They have one in the back alley too. WHY? And why are there cops going in and out all the time?
HOW DOES THIS MAKE YOU FEEL?
BIG BROTHER IS WATCHING YOU
the worship of Big Brother
REPRESSION
1984
Status crime, by its very nature, involves projections of middle-class or conservative fantasies about the nature of the "dangerous classes." Thus in the nineteenth century, the bourgeoisie crusaded against a largely phantasmagorical "tramp menace,"
He loved Big Brother.
Thought Police.
This comprehensive surveillance constitutes a virtual scanscape—a space of protective visibility that increasingly defines where white-collar office workers and middle-class tourists feel safe downtown. Inevitably the workplace or shopping mall video camera will become linked with home security systems, personal "panic buttons," car alarms, cellular phones, and the like, in a seamless continuity of surveillance over daily routine.
for a great discussion of the encroachment of high-tech surveillance materials into our daily lives, order Urban Core Control from
Open Magazine
Pamphlet Series
PO Box 2726
Westfield, NJ 07091
(908)789-9608
Zoom Eye
WHO'S NEXT?
it was 1984
Sleuth Spy Scope
what system, the Thought Police plugged in on any individual wire was guesswork.
It was even conceivable that they watched everybody all the time. But at any rate they could plug in your wire whenever they wanted to. You had to live—did live, from habit that became instinct—in the assumption that every sound you made was overheard, and, except in darkness, every movement scrutinized.
and law enforcement is further eroded.
certainty that this was 1984.

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TESC Police Abuse & Olympia Police Issues

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Along the Color Line
Black Journalism

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From The Inside Out
Imprisoning Jobs

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Activists Randy Shaw & David Barsamian

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The FBI & Earth First!
Judi Bari Federal Case Update

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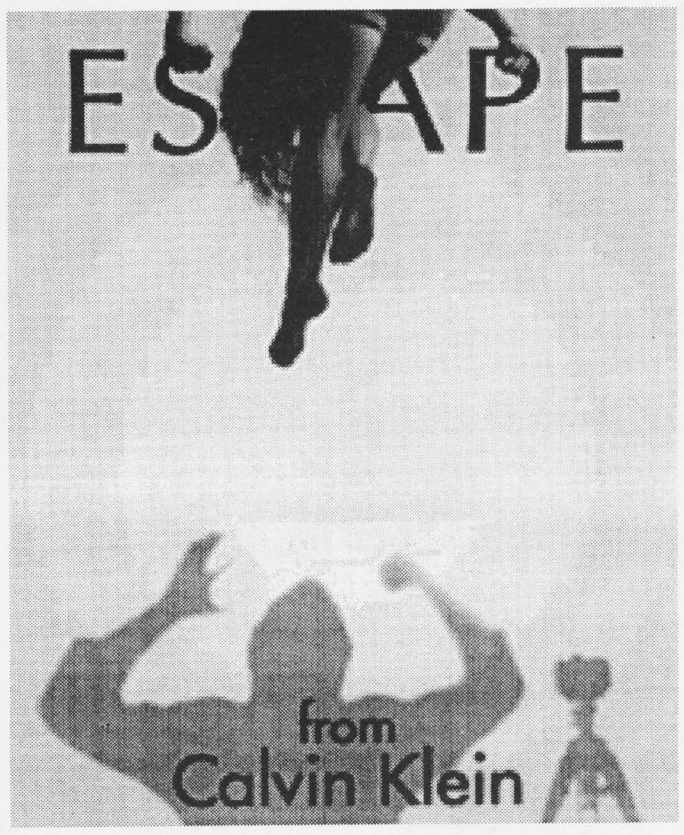
Works In Progress' Alternative Press Survey Results

OFFENSIVE AD

(SEND US THE ONES YOU HATE)



ANTI-AD

(SEND US THE ONES YOU LIKE)

Works In Progress
PO Box 295
Olympia, WA 98507